THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXIV *October 1950* NUMBER 4

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXIV *October 1950* NUMBER 4

Published by the Society and Issued to Members

CENTRAL PARK WEST AND 77TH STREET
NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE, *Honorary President*
FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D., *President*

LeRoy E. Kimball . . . . . *First Vice-President*
Louis C. Wills . . . . . *Second Vice-President*
Forsyth Wickes . . . . . *Third Vice-President*
Stuyvesant Fish . . . . . *Fourth Vice-President*
Archer M. Huntington . . . . . *Foreign Corresponding Secretary*
William T. Van Alstyne . . . . . *Domestic Corresponding Secretary*
DeWitt M. Lockman . . . . . *Recording Secretary*
Thomas W. Streeter . . . . . *Treasurer*

Term Ending 1951
George A. Zabriskie
Charles E. Dunlap
Lewis Gouverneur Morris

Term Ending 1952
John V. Irwin
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.
Otis T. Bradley

Term Ending 1953
Henry O. Havemeyer
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.
Hall Park McCullough

Term Ending 1954
Irving S. Olds

Henry C. Taylor

STANDING COMMITTEES

On Building
Henry O. Havemeyer
Charles E. Dunlap
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.

On Membership
John V. Irwin
William T. Van Alstyne
Otis T. Bradley

On Lectures
John V. Irwin
Lewis Gouverneur Morris

On Library
LeRoy E. Kimball
Stuyvesant Fish
Thomas W. Streeter
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.

On Fine Arts
Forsyth Wickes
DeWitt M. Lockman, N.A.
Henry O. Havemeyer
Hall Park McCullough

On Nominations
Henry O. Havemeyer
Charles E. Dunlap
Irving S. Olds

On Finance
Thomas W. Streeter
LeRoy E. Kimball
William T. Van Alstyne
Forsyth Wickes

On Museum
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.
Archer M. Huntington
Lewis Gouverneur Morris
Henry C. Taylor

On Plan & Scope
Irving S. Olds
LeRoy E. Kimball
Forsyth Wickes
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.
Henry O. Havemeyer

On Publications
LeRoy E. Kimball
Thomas W. Streeter
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.

On Law
Louis C. Wills
Forsyth Wickes
Irving S. Olds

Ex-Officio, All Committees
Dr. Beekman (President)
Mr. Streeter (Treasurer)
Mr. Vail (Secretary to the Board)

DIRECTOR . . . . . R. W. G. VAIL
Assistant Director . . . . . Alexander J. Wall, Jr.

DEPARTMENT HEADS

Librarian . . . . . Dorothy C. Barck
Curator of the Museum . . . . . Richard J. Koke
Editor . . . . . Charles E. Baker
Supervisor of Education and Public Relations . . . . . Alexander J. Wall, Jr.
Superintendent of Buildings . . . . . Garrett H. Winter

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXIV OCTOBER 1950 NUMBER 4

CHARLES E. BAKER, *Editor*

CONTENTS

John Wollaston's Portrait of Thomas Appleford . . . GEORGE C. GROCE 261

The Carriage Gallery at the Society . LT. COL. PAUL H. DOWNING 269

Nicholas Roosevelt—Goldsmith (1715–1769) HELEN BURR SMITH 301

Cornelia Duyckinck's Birthday Spoon, 1686 . . CAROLYN SCOON 315

"There Was a Magic in Her Voice" . . LEONIDAS WESTERVELT 319

Book Reviews and Notices:

De Armond, *Andrew Bradford, Colonial Journalist* ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR. 330

Rudy, *College of the City of New York: A History* THOMAS LEDUC 331

Wittke, *The Utopian Communist . . . Wilhelm Weitling* ROBERT ERNST 333

Richardson, *Washington Allston* . . . GEORGE C. GROCE 334

Graham, *Niagara Country* . . . . . JULIAN PARK 335

Starkey, *The Devil in Massachusetts* . . WAYNE ANDREWS 336

Miller, *Jonathan Edwards* . . . . . WAYNE ANDREWS 336

Jackson, *Gold Rush Album* . . . . . ROBERTA LEIGHTON 338

Caughey, *Gold Is the Cornerstone* . . . . JUDITH PLESS 338

Robinson, *Land in California* . . . . . JUDITH PLESS 338

Griggs, *Folklore and Firesides in Pomfret, Hampton and Vicinity* . . . . . ROBERTA LEIGHTON 340

Vail, *Voice of the Old Frontier* . . . . . ALLAN NEVINS 340

Activities of the Society 343

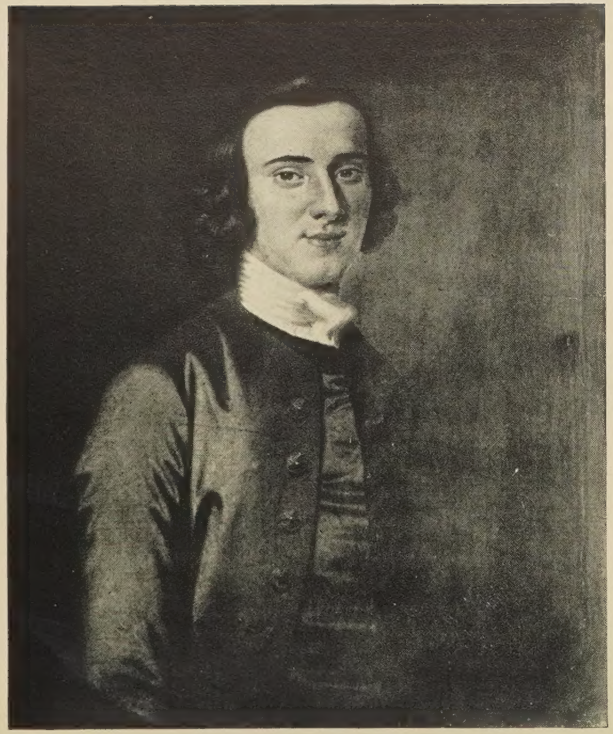
Recent Accessions 344

McKim, Mead & White Archives 346

The Charles A. Hanna Collection 346

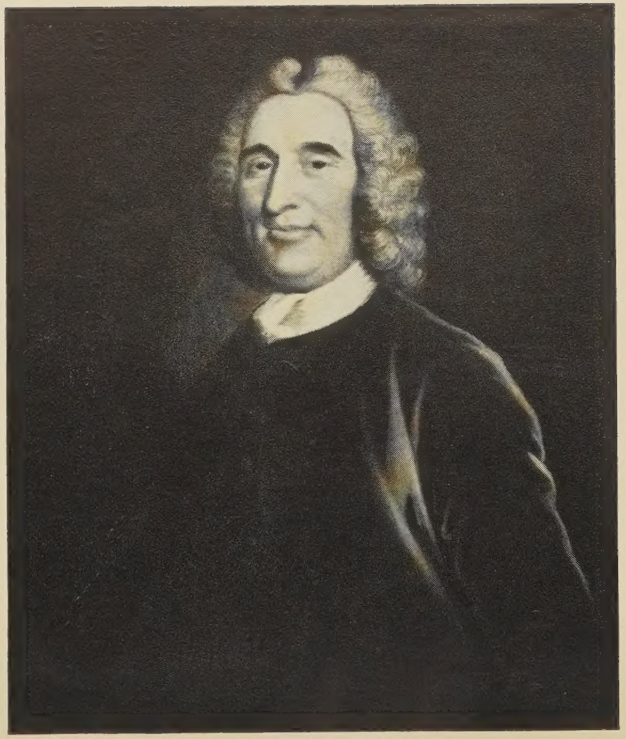
Index to Vol. XXXIV (January–October 1950) 347

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR STATEMENTS IN SIGNED ARTICLES



WILLIAM SMITH, JR.

By John Wollaston, New York, 1751



THOMAS APPLEFORD

By John Wollaston, London, 1746

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY
October 1950
VOLUME XXXIV NUMBER FOUR
New York: 170 Central Park West

JOHN WOLLASTON'S PORTRAIT OF THOMAS APPLEFORD, DATED 1746

by GEORGE C. GROCE*

TO THE STUDENT of colonial painting in America, the portrait of *Thomas Appleford*, recently presented to The New-York Historical Society by the late Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr.,[1] has a unique value because it is the only signed and dated portrait of John Wollaston's English period in an American public collection. This artist, as will be discovered later, enjoyed the patronage of a larger number of sitters and also influenced American art and artists more profoundly than any other artist

* Beginning with an appendix on the portraiture of his subject in his biography of *William Samuel Johnson* (1937), Dr. Groce has contributed a number of articles and monographs on early American artists, supervised the compilation of *1440 Early American Portrait Artists*, and is presently writing a comprehensive study of John Wollaston and his work and devoting his spare time to the Society's forthcoming *Artists in America 1564–1860: A Dictionary of About Eight Thousand Painters, Sculptors, Engravers*, etc. Officially, he is Historian in the Office of the Chief, Chemical Corps, Department of the Army.

[1] See also an account of "The Belknap Bequest," *NYHS Quarterly*, July 1950, 254.

of his generation. The portrait of *Thomas Appleford* is thus of signal importance in illuminating the relationship of painting in England with that of her North American colonies in the middle of the 18th century.

Nothing is known of *Thomas Appleford* beyond that which can be inferred from the portrait itself. Little is known about the painter of the portrait, John Wollaston (fl. 1736–67). The central decade of the artist's life is 1742 to 1752. This is the period of climax and fulfillment. The portrait of *Thomas Appleford* was painted at the exact, chronological mid-point of the decade. The period before 1742 is prologue which gives but a hint of that which is to follow, what comes after 1752 is denouement and aftermath. *Thomas Appleford* is the visible link between John Wollaston's obscure past and his brilliant future. These values will be measured not in aesthetic terms, but solely from the viewpoint of historical importance.

A portrait painted exactly a decade prior to *Thomas Appleford* is signed and dated 1736—the earliest firm date in the artist's chronology. The first of Wollaston's paintings is painted with a meticulous attention to details which gives no hint of the artist's later fluency of style.

In 1742, John Wollaston painted his first picture of a personage who was rapidly becoming internationally famous. This portrait of the *Rev. George Whitefield* (1714–1770), now in England's National Portrait Gallery, portrays the evangelist in the pulpit, with outstretched hands, preaching to an enthralled congregation. Much in the painting is characteristic of John Wollaston, such as the artist's literal rendition of Whitefield's cross eyes, but the spirit of the composition seems closer to that of one of Hogarth's prints than to the later painting of John Wollaston.

In 1744, the artist signed and dated a three-quarter-length, seated portrait of *Sir Thomas Hales* (*c.* 1665–1748), Baronet and Member of Parliament from Canterbury. *Whitefield's* hands are but vague, ectoplasmic suggestions of nine fingers and a thumb. *Hales'* two hands are clearly drawn, the right resting on

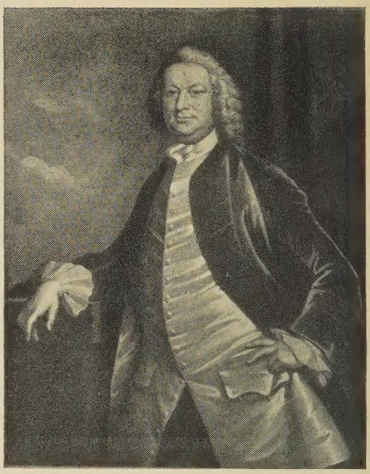
the marble top of a table and the left on the arm of a chair. Both hands show the delicately curved finger tips and the unusual posture of the fingers which appear in much of Wollaston's later work. The lighting on *Whitefield* shines from the upper right on the preacher's face, but the light strikes the pulpit and the congregation from the lower left. Nevertheless, there are no highlights on the preacher's clerical robes. By contrast, the light falls evenly on *Thomas Hales* from the upper left and the highlighting on the sitter's coat is applied with the broad zig-zag strokes which are characteristic of so much that Wollaston painted later. Chronologically, the next or fourth painting is *Thomas Appleford*, but before examining the portrait itself, let us attempt to place the picture stylistically in the "school" to which it belongs.

Let us say that the *Appleford* portrait of 1746 belongs to the "London School of Painting." This puts the simplicity and directness of *Appleford* in sharp contrast with the ornate period which preceded it. Fashionable painting in England had been dominated from the arrival of Van Dyck in 1635 to the death of Kneller in 1723 by foreign-born court painters who were cosmopolitan both in training and in outlook. But by the beginning of the 18th century, a talented artist might learn painting in the various clubs, coffee houses, dealers' shops, and artists' studios in London. The career of William Hogarth (1697–1764) shows how an artist of talent might attain his stature in London without a long apprenticeship on the continent.

John Wollaston was a Londoner, according to an inscription on the reverse of his portrait of *William Smith, Jr.* (1728–1793), painted at New York in 1751. Presumably the artist was a son of John Woolaston (*c.* 1672– *c.* 1743), a London portrait painter. Finally, in a reminiscent letter, the aged Charles Willson Peale recalled that the younger Wollaston studied under a "noted drapery painter in London." Thus, Wollaston was by background and training a product of the London school of painting.

Stylistically, the portrait of *Appleford*, like that of *Hales*, is entirely free of external embellishment. They contain neither

MRS. WILLIAM WALTON
By John Wollaston



WILLIAM WALTON
By John Wollaston

The New-York Historical Society

flowing draperies nor symbols of exalted rank. Only a few years before *Appleford* was painted, the poet Alexander Pope had written that "The proper study of mankind is man." The center of interest in the painting is Appleford himself. The light comes from the upper left,[2] directly across the sitter's features. These are clearly drawn. There is a slight twinkle in the eyes; the lips are tilted slightly upward in the faint suggestion of a smile; the sitter's mood is restrained but genial. There is humor in the portrait, but not of Hogarth. It is the humor of Wollaston the artist and, quite likely, the humor of Thomas Appleford himself.

The texture of the coat is velvet and the color is dark brown. It is of the same color and quality as coats worn by gentlemen of the Livingston family at New York, of the Carroll family in Maryland, the Randolph family in Virginia, and the Smiths in South Carolina. *Appleford's* expertly curled wig is similar to that

[2] The author uses the heraldic dexter and sinister or the sitter's right and sitter's left, not the spectator's right or left.

of *William Walton* (1706–1768) at the Society, *Joseph Turner* of Philadelphia and *Mann Page II* of Virginia. The white stock, similar to that of *Appleford*, appears on virtually all the gentlemen who sat for Wollaston from 1744 to 1754.

The background of the *Appleford* portrait is dark brown. This was the predominant color in virtually all the portraits painted by Wollaston in America. In the larger, three-quarter-length portraits the clouds behind one side of the sitter are frequently deep shades of pink and on the other side is foliage of dark greenish brown. But virtually all of Wollaston's bust portraits, like *Appleford*, have backgrounds of solid brown. Sometimes, particularly in New York, the dark brown is relieved by false ovals in a lighter brown.

Between 1746 and 1748, the skill and fame of Wollaston had so increased that, in the latter year, his name was listed in a treatise on painting as one of the foremost artists of England. In the autumn of 1748, eight years of war on land and sea ended with the Peace of Aix la Chapelle. Hogarth, Hudson, and other London artists celebrated the event by a prompt departure for France. George Whitefield had but recently returned from America and was spreading the word with his compelling eloquence. Proclamation and ceremonial reading of the peace, with attendant festivities and illuminations, did not take place in His Majesty's colony of New York until May 12, 1749. The exact date of Wollaston's arrival is unknown but he certainly was present at a tavern brawl and in New York City by June 23, 1749.[3]

To appreciate the significance of *Thomas Appleford*, one should also understand the historical importance of John Wollaston's sojourn in America and particularly in New York. The two main barriers to such an understanding can be overcome by examination of the paintings in the Society's collections. Wollaston must not be thought of as a draftsman or costume designer. Countless halftone cuts have done violence to this

[3] *NYHS Collections 1920*, 116–119.

painter's art by robbing it of color and reducing it to formulas. Wollaston was a painter who thought and worked in terms of color. The pattern for the dresses worn by the ladies who sat to Wollaston are much the same, but the dresses are different because the colors and decorations are different. Since the most fastidious ladies of New York were delighted with his work in the 1750's, we may be quite certain that his gifts of color and adornment were highly acceptable.

If the observer of 1950 will compare Wollaston's work, not with the paintings done since the artist's residence at New York, but with the painting done in the colony before his arrival, the contribution of the artist will become quite clear. This comparison can be better made at the Society than anywhere on earth. Compare *Thomas Appleford* with the earliest dated portrait in New York history, that of *Nicholas William Stuyvesant* (1648–1698) dated 1666. Presumably the same artist, trained perhaps in The Hague-Leyden school, painted not only the latter sitter's father, *Governor Peter Stuyvesant* (1592–1672) but also *Cornelius Steenwyck* (d. 1684). In comparison with *Appleford*, the work of this earlier artist (possibly Henri Couturier) seems almost grotesque. Nevertheless, the hand of the Stuyvesant limner and that of John Wollaston were trained.

But this is by no means true of the limner of *Gerret Duyckinck* (1660-*c.* 1710), for the painter of this portrait was a forthright, untutored folk-craftsman. Henri Couturier, who was painting at New York in the 1660's, had some training, but there is no evidence of a later resident New Yorker fully trained in painting until Wollaston's arrival. From about 1720 to 1740, the compositions in New York are often derived from European prints, but the limners were not well schooled in the painter's art. In the Society's collections, *Mrs. Thomas Van Alstyn*, dated 1721, and *Anne Van Rensselaer* (b.1719, m.*c.* 1744) are representative of the "print period." There are numerous examples of work done before 1740 in New York, but not one painting has conclusively been ascribed to the period 1740–49 in New York.

MRS. JOHN WADDELL
By John Wollaston

CAPT. JOHN WADDELL
By John Wollaston

The New-York Historical Society

In the author's opinion, no painting in earlier New York history had been as capably done as that of *Thomas Appleford*. New Yorkers had never seen among them an artist comparable to Wollaston in talent or in training. Members of the Beekman, Colden, Livingston, Morris, Schuyler, Stillwell, Van Cortlandt, Walton, and Watts families sat to Wollaston's brush. It is no coincidence that The New-York Historical Society's Wollaston collection is the largest and most significant under any one roof. Almost a third of Wollaston's identified work was painted at New York. No artist of New York ever had painted so much or so well.

But this was by no means all. Having painted at New York from 1749 to 1752, he went on to paint even more between 1753 and 1758 in Maryland, Virginia, and Philadelphia. He reappeared in South Carolina possibly in 1766 and in 1767 sailed from Charleston to London, a famous and a wealthy man. During the seven years Wollaston is known to have spent in the colonies, he

painted more portraits than any artist in America ever had. His known *oeuvre* today is larger than the combined total of paintings by Feke, Smibert, and Blackburn.

Lastly, Wollaston was as influential as he was prolific. He influenced the work of John Hesselius (1728–1778) so profoundly that even now the work of the two artists is not infrequently confused. Wollaston also influenced Matthew Pratt (1734–1835) but to a lesser degree. Francis Hopkinson (1737–1791), artist, poet, musician and, in 1776, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, became enraptured and lyrical as he watched the English master at his easel.

But Benjamin West (1738–1820), the most talented of them all, was more deeply influenced than any. William Sawitzky showed how completely the youthful prodigy reshaped his entire style of painting to conform with that of the London artist. Shortly after he had been confronted with Wollaston's paintings on all sides in New York, West set off in 1760 to secure adequate training in Europe. "West without Wollaston is unthinkable," Theodore Bolton recently remarked. But West gave more help to young American artists and thereby exerted a more profound influence on that generation of painters than anyone else in history. It would be entirely correct to add that "Early American painting without West is inconceivable." It is the portrait of *Thomas Appleford*, linking English with American painting, which is the visual image which mirrors the influence of England on America, and America on England, and of the influence of Benjamin West's London school of painting on early American art. *Appleford* is a visible symbol of the trans-Atlantic influences which have meant so much to both England and America.

NOTE: *Thomas Appleford* by John Wollaston is oil on canvas, 30 inches by 25 inches, and is inscribed on the back of the original canvas: "Mr. Tho^{s}. Appleford. J. Wollaston, Pinx^{t}. 1746." The painting was restored and relined by Ingrid-Maerta Held in 1949. But photographs of both the original state of the painting and the inscription are available to qualified students at the Society.

THE CARRIAGE GALLERY

AT THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

by

LT. COL. PAUL H. DOWNING
Coach Consultant to Colonial Williamsburg

THE horse-drawn carriage era has so recently come to a close that as yet not much visible interest has been taken in it by historians or research experts. That such interest will be taken in time to come is inevitable. Horse-drawn vehicles played such a vital part in the lives of civilized peoples over a three-century period that they cannot pass for long without demanding the attention of those scholars whose prime interest it is to record the activities of the past for the benefit of the future.

The New-York Historical Society, in devoting so much space to its Carriage Gallery, is contributing much toward preserving for posterity certain of the finest examples of the coach-builder's art of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the most important item in the Gallery is the priceless 18th-century Beekman Coach. To my knowledge there is only one other coach of the period in this country. That other is the one at Mount Vernon which was originally owned by the Powell family of Philadelphia. I wish it were possible for us to expand the Gallery to include more of the older carriages as well as those of the poorer people and the middle classes. It should be remembered that American industry made it possible for the poor man to have his carriage just as it has made it possible for him to have his automobile. In 1910 a good-looking serviceable runabout could be bought new for $35.00. Surreys and Buggies, which we do not have, were sold by mail-order houses and the Rockaway was the

THE ORIGINAL "TALLY-HO" WHOSE NAME WAS MISAPPLIED TO ALL ROAD COACHES

Lithograph, 1876, in the Bella C. Landauer Collection

close carriage of the not-so-wealthy. In 1900 there were 3,166 Rockaways built as against 846 Broughams.

Carriages are still available, some even that were built a hundred or more years ago. Their owners, having kept them for sentimental reasons, would be glad to have them preserved in a carriage museum. The museum which I visualize would not only be a repository for vehicles and related paraphernalia but for all pertinent information, books, documents, and drawings as well; a sort of headquarters where artists, authors, the movies (who invariably do it wrong), and students could go for research. As a matter of fact one of our most successful and popular contemporary artists in a recent letter to me expressed a like opinion. My readers may be interested to learn that the carriage of the Beekman Coach has recently been reproduced in the shops of Colonial Williamsburg, and bears a Phaeton body largely influenced by the motifs and ornamentation of the Coach body. It will be horsed and used for the pleasure of visitors to Williamsburg.

To return a moment to the carriage industry, it is interesting to note that in 1900 the total of new business amounted to $121,537,276, which did not include the second-hand sales or sales of harness and other horse-and-carriage sundries. To appreciate that volume of business we should deflate the dollars to their 1950 value and we come out with a quarter of a billion dollars—no negligible turnover in any businessman's language! American ingenuity plus our very excellent native woods revolutionized carriage-building methods. We shipped vehicles to all parts of the world and even supplied some of the famous English firms with our labor-saving machinery and devices. We were not so fortunate with our styles, however, and typically American designs brought forth adverse criticism from that country. A comparison of American, English, and French catalogues of the mid-19th century readily shows why. This criticism did not apply to such top firms as the Brewster Company, which took generic English types as models and, in my opinion, improved them not only from an engineering standpoint but in smartness as well.

This firm became the arbiter of fashion. The Brewsters were appealed to by the National Horse Show Association to write the rules governing the suitability of harnesses and appointments to the various types of vehicles. A whole book could be written about the firm of Brewster which would fill an important niche in Americana.

Appointments and customs were complex indeed and considered by those who mattered as rating top importance socially. Those who did not know or who failed to comply were liable to as much censure as were those who failed to leave the correct calling cards. I recently read a letter written by a prominent horseman in 1908 severely criticizing a scion of a most important horse family for holding his whip "in the fashion of a professional coachman."

"Setting up" a fine carriage was a very different matter from purchasing the best motor car. Considerable knowledge and good taste were requisite and there were several important considerations. The first was the purpose: formal, informal, sporting, or utilitarian. Where was the vehicle to be used: town, country, or fashionable resort? Was it to be a lady's or a gentleman's carriage, or that of a bachelor or a young miss, or just a family carriage? There were models and styles for each and for children as well. Certain carriages required two servants, others but one. Again there were those driven only by a gentleman or by a lady. Each required suitable horses, as to size, type, way of going, and color. A piebald or skewbald was just the thing for a Sporting Tandem or a Road Coach, but certainly would not do for a Victoria. The horses for a Bachelor's Brougham might show some face or leg markings, but good taste required the most conservative colors for a Lady's Brougham. Each carriage had its own style of harness, certain of which were further specialized by the adding or taking off of straps in order that it be correct for a gentleman or servant coachman. Liveries were of vast importance, formal and undress, the colors of the coats matching the trimming (upholstery) material of the vehicle. Important families had their own

JAMES HAZEN HYDE'S ROAD COACH "LIBERTY"

Leaving the Holland House, New York City, for Lakewood, N. J.
No. 1 of a series of 12 watercolors of this run by Max Klepper

Gift of Mr. James Hazen Hyde, 1946

colors for carriages and liveries, just as they have their own racing colors. Servants of Government officials and of Army and Navy officers alone in this country were entitled to wear the cockade. Incidentally, the servants of the President wore cockades of red, white, and blue.

The details and customs seem endless and so, in order not to generalize further, I will attempt to describe the uses and appointments of each of the carriages in our collection. For those who wish to pursue the subject further, I recommend the following: *The Encyclopedia of the 18th Century*, France, 1759 (Diderot); William Felton, *Treatise on Carriages*, England, 1790; G. A. Thrupp, *The History of Coaches*, London, 1877; Francis T. Underhill, *Driving for Pleasure*, New York, 1897; Fairman Rogers, *A Manual of Coaching*, Philadelphia, 1900; and Thomas W. Ware, *Driving*, New York, 1903.

STANHOPE GIG

Designed in 1815 by the Honorable Fitzroy Stanhope, the Stanhope Gig remained unchanged and was popular for park driving and horse shows to the end of the carriage era. It was drawn by a single horse or by a tandem of horses of quality and high action and required formal treatment. It was a gentleman's vehicle and when a servant was carried, he sat beside his master.

The Society's gig was made by Brewster & Company about 1900. It was presented by Mr. Harris Fahnestock in 1938.

DOG CART

This term is applied to several styles of two- and four-wheeled carriages, from the fact that the compartment under the seat was

intended for carrying sporting dogs. The louvres at the side were for air. The dogs were kept in by the grating door when the hind footboard was down.

The design of this particular vehicle was inspired by the dog cart in Henderson's print entitled "Going to Cover," whence it is sometimes called a Going-to-Cover Cart.

Horse-show appointments called for formal treatment, although it was inconsistent with the character and use of this cart, which was distinctly sporting. It could be horsed by one or a tandem, from which it is sometimes called a Tandem Cart. Note the crank for shifting the body forward and back in order to balance the load.

The Society's cart was made by Brewster & Company about 1900. It was presented in 1938 by Mr. Harris Fahnestock.

GOVERNESS CART OR PONY CART

Governess Cart is the name most generally used. It is also called a Tub Cart, but its real name is Field's Epsom Car, which was in use in England and the United States prior to 1880. The type most generally seen and which is in use even today has flaring basket sides and front. Loaded with children and nurses it was a common sight in the suburbs and country. It was made in several sizes for donkeys, ponies, or horses.

The Society's Pony Cart was made by J. B. Brewster & Company about 1880 for Theodore Havemeyer (1839–1897) and was used by the donor when he was a child. It was presented to the Society by Henry O. Havemeyer in 1945.

HANSOM

Patented in 1834 by Joseph Hansom, an architect of Leicestershire, England, the Hansom did not become popular until redesigned in 1873 by a coach-builder named Forder. It was particularly desirable for town use because of ease of entry and the high driver's seat which gave a good view of the traffic. Being short and on two wheels, it was highly maneuverable. It was used both as a private and public conveyance. In New York from 1890 to 1910, with the Brougham, it performed the service of the taxicab of today. The driver usually wore a black felt top hat and a light-colored box coat. The harness was heavy and durable; the horse rugged and with moderate action.

The Society's Hansom, which served on the Cochrane Estate, Stamford, Conn., from 1895 to 1902, was presented by Mr. John Campbell in 1945.

RUNABOUT

A typically American vehicle, the Runabout in its various forms was in use from the beginning of the 19th century and is still in vogue for horse shows. During the latter part of the last century it was probably the most generally used of all carriages and was found in almost every stable. It was usually drawn by a single horse, but on occasion by a pair. When equipped with a shifting top it was called a Buggy—hence the appellation "horse-and-buggy days" to its era. In its lighter forms it was extensively used for fast trotters and called a Road Wagon.

The Society's Runabout was built by Brewster & Company in 1903 and was in use on the donor's Eastover estate at Lenox, Mass., to 1936. It was presented to the Society by Harris Fahnestock in 1938.

CUT-UNDER BASKET PHAETON

This is an American vehicle which was used for ladies' driving, toward the end of the last century and up to 1915. A very similar carriage without the cut-under was shown by carriage-builder Robert McKinstry, Jr., as early as 1855. Its general appearance suggests summer in the country, mountains, or at the seashore. A single horse of about fifteen hands, or a cob, would have been desirable; it might also have been horsed with a pair. It would have been turned out informally, with a groom carried on the rumble.

The Society's Cut-under Basket Phaeton was made for the donor in 1899 by Healey & Company. It is the gift of Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer, 1945.

PETERS LADIES' PHAETON

This carriage, with the George IV Phaeton which is similar but more formal, was considered the "most refined" for ladies' driving. It was horsed with one or a pair; if the latter, horses 15 hands or under were desirable.

Single harness was the same as for a Runabout but with a shaped collar, breeching, buxton bit, and pully bridoon. The pair harness was similar to that of a Brougham but somewhat lighter and with the loin straps removed. These straps were used generally only with carriages driven by a servant. Pole chains were used with the Ladies' Phaeton in place of the pole pieces (leather straps) of the Brougham. The color was generally dark. One servant, a groom, occupied the rumble.

The Society's "Ladies Park Phaeton" was made around 1885 by Peters & Sons, the well-known London firm of carriage-makers, and bears their name. It was presented to the Society in 1938 by the Misses Edith and Maude K. Wetmore.

DEMI–MAIL PHAETON

Smaller than the Mail Phaeton, as the name implies, the Demi-Mail Phaeton was a formal vehicle requiring a pair of horses of quality and high action. It was essentially a gentleman's carriage and intended for the owner's driving. He would be attended by one servant, a groom, who would occupy the rear seat. The full-size Mail Phaeton dates back to 1830 and derives its name from the fact that originally its under-gear, perch, and springs were similar to those of the mail coach. The Duke of Beaufort regarded it as having been the most useful of all gentlemen's carriages prior to the railway for travelling, either a pair or four horses being used. Note that the lamps have shutters. Custom did not approve of lamps on certain carriages except when lighted; the shutters rendered them "less offensive." The Society's Demi-Mail Phaeton, made by Brewster about 1893, was driven by the donor in Lenox, Mass., until as late as 1936. In 1938 Mr. Harris Fahnestock presented it to the Society.

LANDAU

The Landau originated prior to 1750 in the town of this name situated in Western Germany. It is one of the earliest types in continual and popular use in all parts of the civilized world to the close of the horse-and-carriage age. It is found among the carriages of Louis XV and also in England at an early date.

When closed for inclement weather it provides the comfort and protection of the coach; and when open in fair weather, the pleasures of the barouche. It had a great range of use, sometimes as a grand or state carriage with hammercloth, sometimes turned out postillion to the livery stable or undertaker, closed for the mourners and open as a flower carriage. Occasionally one still sees photographs of Landaus in the news being used abroad as state carriages for celebrities. Their Majesties of Great Britain ride in a special Landau, turned out postillion with four horses, to the opening of the racing season at Ascot. The Landau here

exhibited, because of its cane work panels and fine striping, indicates its appropriateness for elderly ladies.

Normally a pair of large horses, sixteen hands or over, would be used, tails to the hocks, quiet of manner and color, great quality without undue showiness. Harness and livery were formal, the servants middle-aged or over, the entire equipage presenting an appearance of considerable dignity.

The Society's Landau, built about 1875 by Peters & Sons of London, is the gift, 1938, of the Misses Edith and Maude K. Wetmore.

BASKET VIS-Á-VIS

Built also with panels, the Vis-à-Vis was called by the English a Sociable. The basket-work indicates a summer carriage for country or seashore. It should be formally horsed and appointed similarly to a Brougham or Victoria. The parasol top folds and

may be removed. In the "Driving" Volume of the Badminton Library, the Vis-à-Vis is mentioned as having been built prior to 1808. William Felton, in his work of 1790, shows it as a Sociable. The French as early as 1750 had a very narrow coach which they called a Vis-à-Vis.

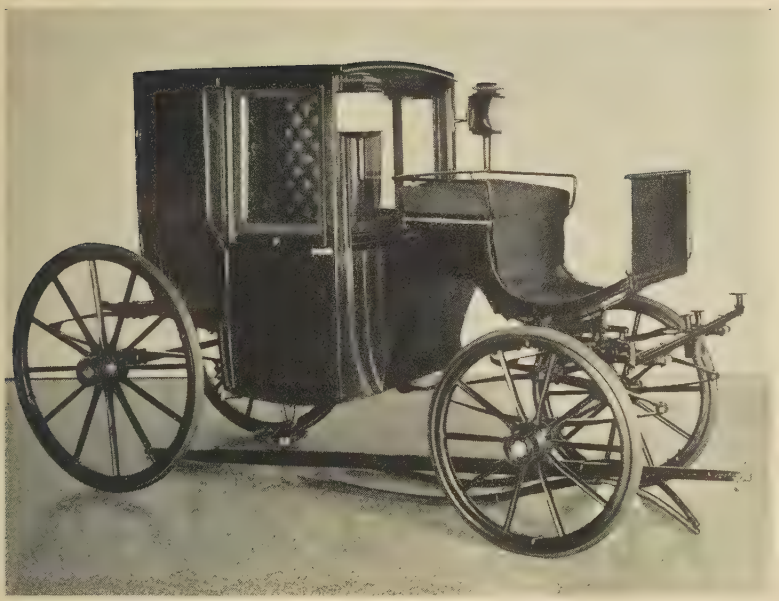
The Society's Basket Vis-à-Vis, built by Brewster & Company in 1905, was used in Lenox, Mass., till 1935. Mr. Harris Fahnestock gave it to the Society in 1938.

MINIATURE BROUGHAM

The story goes that Lord Brougham in 1837, with a view to greater convenience and efficiency than was afforded by his chariot, conceived the vehicle which bears his name and had it built in London. Historically though, Lord Brougham imported a carriage from Paris which had been in use there for some years as a "voiture de place" and had it copied by his coach-builder, who improved it by lightening and refinement. The happy result was the vehicle which has come down to us practically unchanged and has born his Lordship's name ever since. As late as 1946 one Brougham was still in use in New York City as a lady's private carriage.

The Brougham was probably the most useful and popular close carriage ever devised. It appeared in several forms, chief of which were Bow-Front, Extension or Double Brougham, Station Brougham, Miniature Brougham, Bachelor's Brougham, and Country Brougham. It was used extensively in the United States and England as a public carriage for hire and was called a hack, a hackney coach, and a four-wheeler. In France it was called a coupé. The automobile known as a town car or Brougham derives its inspiration from this type of vehicle. The Brougham and Hansom (on two wheels) were the taxicabs of the horse-and-carriage period, and in certain cases were even equipped with meters.

As the Brougham was built in several sizes and weights, the



size of the horses varied in consequence; one or a pair were used. A Brougham horse generally was in the neighborhood of 15.2 hands, had substance, moderate action and a turn of speed; generally of quiet color, but when used in a Bachelor's, Country, or Station Brougham, might show some white markings. The pair harness was similar to the wheel harness of the Park Drag shown in the Gallery. The single harness was heavy and included breeching. The servants wore formal livery except with the Station Brougham and Country Brougham, when informal livery might be used. In addition to the coachman, a groom or footman was carried when turned out for a lady's use.

The Society's Brougham is of the so-called miniature variety which is otherwise almost identical with its larger prototype. It was built in 1899 by Brewster & Company in New York and was used there till 1927. It was presented in 1938 by Mr. Harris Fahnestock.

COUNTRY BROUGHAM

As indicated by the name, this carriage was designed for country use. It differs from the Brougham in that the front wheels are larger, making it easier riding on the rougher roads, and the front tread is the same width as the rear so that it would fit the ruts; also it has glass all around. It was also turned out less formally in the matter of horses and appointments. This vehicle was not in very general use.

The Society's Country Brougham was made by Fludder Brothers, Newport, R. I., about 1900, and was formerly owned by Miss Alice Keteltas of New York City. It was presented to the Society in 1938 by the Misses Edith and Maude K. Wetmore.

STATION BROUGHAM

Somewhat similar to the Country Brougham, this carriage was used principally for station work. Note the baggage rail on the roof. It was generally turned out informally.

The Station and Country Broughams were apt to be found in the out-of-town coach houses of the wealthy, but were not in nearly such general use for the same purposes as the Rockaway or Depot Wagon, which was a more practical all-around carriage.

The Society's Station Brougham was built by Brewster about 1896 and used in Lenox till 1936. Two years later its owner, Mr. Harris Fahnestock, gave it with other items of his carriage collection to The New-York Historical Society.

CALÈCHE OR BAROUCHE

This carriage is said to have originated in Germany, and William Felton in his work published in 1790 calls it a Barouche or German wagon. Designs for the carriages of Louis XV of France include a very elaborate and ornate Calèche. The Calèche, indeed, was one of the most elegant and stately of all vehicles and properly belongs to the class of "grand carriages." It was found in establishments of the first rank and was used for state and other most formal occasions.

The work of Sir Walter Gilby on carriage horses, dated 1898, contains a plate showing a pair of Barouche horses with harness. The horses required were of the finest breeding, perfectly matched, and with faultless manners, standing from 16.2 to 17 hands. The tails were undocked. The harness is elaborate and includes breeching and loin straps.

The Barouche was popular in England and the United States

during the middle 1800's, but lost favor to the Victoria toward the latter part of the century. It should not be confused with the Two-Wheeled Calèche of Canada, which is quite another vehicle.

The Society's Calèche, built about 1895 by Brewster & Company, was given by Mr. Harris Fahnestock to the Museum of the City of New York which, in 1938, presented it to The New-York Historical Society in order to complete the Society's holdings from the Fahnestock collection.

PANEL-BOOT VICTORIA

A vehicle named Victoria is believed to have been first mentioned by Guiseppe Cima in his book of proposed carriage designs published in Italy in 1830. Intended for driving by the owner, it had not the front or coachman's seat, but did have a rumble seat in the rear for a groom. A similar carriage in pony

size was built in England in 1850 for Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort.

Shortly after 1834 the Cab Phaeton was conceived and built in England. It was much the same as the carriage here exhibited, except that the rear seat was inclosed in the manner of the Hansom Cab. It later developed into the Victoria as we know it. It was extensively used on the Continent as a public hack and was called a Milord. In 1869 it was re-introduced into England by the Prince of Wales and Baron Rothschild; the former importing one from Paris and the latter one from Vienna. It is said to have been named by the French for the English Queen.

In England and the United States the Victoria was strictly a park carriage and was well adapted for displaying the lovely full-skirted gowns of the day. It was turned out in formal style. When turned out in the grand style, the Victoria occasionally was equipped with a rumble seat. One or a pair of well-bred horses might be used, their size determined by the size of the carriage. The single Victoria harness is light and distinctive; the pair harness resembles that of the Brougham.

Practically the only difference between the Victoria per se and the panel-boot variety, sometimes erroneously called a Cabriolet, is in the driving seat, the former having it set upon an open metal-work frame and the latter upon solid wood panels. Another difference is that the driving seat of the Victoria proper, being set somewhat higher, is not fitted with a dash board.

The Society's Panel-Boot Victoria was made by the New York firm of Brewster & Company and it was used in New York City till 1927. It was given to the Society in 1938 by Mr. Harris Fahnestock.

PRIVATE OMNIBUS OR OPERA BUS

This most useful carriage for town and country became popular in large and medium-sized American and English establishments about 1890. It was built in various sizes, the one here on

exhibition being rather small. Some of the larger ones were constructed with a roof seat and a removable top, which, with the windows dropped, made a sort of Wagonette Brake to which a four-in-hand could be driven. It was also horsed by three abreast; usually, however, by a pair. It was used for general purposes whenever several persons were to be carried: station work, taking children to school, for the opera and theatre. To allow the passengers to enter and alight from the rear door, the omnibus was backed to the curb, which made for great convenience. In town it was formally turned out and in the country informally.

The Private Omnibus in the Society's collection was made by Brewster & Company about 1898 and continued in use at the donor's Eastover estate, Lenox, Mass., and in New York City until 1936. It came to the Society in 1938 as a gift from Mr. Harris Fahnestock.

WAGONETTE BREAK

The Wagonette or Body Break was delightful for four-in-hand driving and a valuable adjunct to the establishment affording a four-in-hand coach, as there would be occasions when it would be undesirable to take out the heavier vehicle. It was used either for pleasure or the exercising of the team. The *Carriage Monthly* states that it derives its name from the fact that it was originally used to break horses.

A Break was generally turned out formally for park work and informally for the country or travelling, much the same as was the Road Coach. It was driven by the owner or a guest, and carried two grooms who occupied the rear two ends of the body seats.

The Break probably originated shortly after 1842, as in that year Louis Philippe of France gave Queen Victoria a char-à-

bancs and the Prince Consort, taking this as a type, had a vehicle built with three seats all facing forward and another with seats running sideways. Inasmuch as a char-à-bancs is an open four-horse vehicle of similar construction, but with low doors and some seats facing to the rear, it is reasonable to believe that the first-mentioned vehicle adopted by the Prince Consort was the forerunner of the Platform or Roof-Top Break and the latter the forerunner of the Wagonette or Body Break.

The Society's Wagonette Break, which Brewster & Company built about 1895, was used in Lenox till 1935, and in 1938 presented to the Society by Mr. Harris Fahnestock.

A CORNER OF THE CARRIAGE GALLERY

Left to right: Miniature Brougham, Panel-Boot Victoria, Wagonette Break

THE MAIL COACH "LIGHTNING"

"In 1784, mail coaches were established in England to replace the boys on horseback and the mail carts. The road coach, so modified as to make it more suited to higher speeds and lighter loads, became essentially the mail coach. It had a heavy carriage-part, but the body was comparatively light and somewhat narrower than that of the road coach. It carried four passengers inside, one on the box, and three on the front seat. There was no hind roof-seat and the rumble, supported by irons, carried only the guard. The hind boot had no door behind, the mail bags being passed through an opening in the top closed by a lid on which the feet of the guard rested. In the place of the hind roof-seat there was a box containing a blunderbuss and tools." This arrangement was for better defense against highwaymen. It is interesting to note that the guard was an employee of the Post Office, while the coachman was the servant of the proprietor of the coach, who carried the mail on a contract basis.

The Mail Coach *Lightning* is an exact copy of a Royal mail coach. It was built in Paris in 1892 by Million-Guiet & Cie. for Mr. W. G. Tiffany, who had secured the drawings directly from the General Post Office in London. Its original name was *The Herald*.

This Coach on July 12, 1892, performed a remarkable journey. It was driven from Paris to Trouville, France, a distance of 140 miles, in ten hours and forty minutes with twelve changes of horses besides the original team. It was driven by Mr. T. Suffern Tailer and Mr. Eugene Higgins, both of New York City. Based on the driving time, the average speed was a mile in 4.3 minutes, which is claimed as a world's record.

Shortly after this famous run the coach was acquired by Mr. Tailer, who brought it to the United States and renamed it the *Lightning*. In 1927 Mr. Tailer presented it to Mr. E. Victor Loew, who in 1944 presented it to The New-York Historical Society.

ROAD COACH "PIONEER"

"Road Coach" is a designation for what was also called a Stagecoach or Public Coach and sometimes, although erroneously, a Tally-ho. ("Tally-ho" was the individual name of a particular coach imported from England in early days; because of its fame, its name was applied to similar four-horse coaches by the uninitiated.) Each public coach of this type was given its own name and I am wondering if the notion of naming Pullman cars did not originate from this source.

Pioneer, except for its brake, is a correct reproduction of the coach used in England for almost fifty years prior to the advent of steam. It was built in 1898 during the coaching revival for the Coaching Club of New York by Brewster & Company of New York City. This coach is considered to be one of the finest ever built from the standpoint of proportion, engineering, and craftmanship. It is a magnificent example of the coach-builder's art.

Pioneer ran during the years 1898 to 1906 inclusive from the Holland House in New York to the Ardsley Club in Tarrytown, the round trip being fifty-five miles, with eight changes of horses. It holds the world's speed record for regular operation over an extended period: eleven and two-fifths miles per hour, which included stops and changes of horses. (This, of course, was often beaten in single runs.) The round-trip fare was five dollars and one dollar extra for the box seat. In addition to its regular run, *Pioneer* made special trips of a hundred or more miles to points both north and south of New York. The late Mr. Reginald W. Rives, the famous American whip, was the amateur coachman on the majority of the runs, although other members of the Coaching Club handled "the ribbons" as well. The guard, whose duty it was to collect the fares, handle the way bills for any freight carried, and sound the horn, occupied the raised cushion on the near side of the rear seat.

Stagecoaches, both in this country and in England, were run on very exact schedules which their coachmen took great pride

in keeping to the minute. It has been said that the village folk could set their clocks by the arrival of the coach.

Road Coaches were generally painted in bright colors in accordance with a set pattern. Their markings indicated their points of departure, destination, and intermediate towns. Matched horses were not required; they could be of any color or marking, provided they were conformed and gaited alike, strong and fast with moderate action. The gait was a trot, but on certain stages where road conditions permitted, a gallop was required. A Road Coach was turned out in sporting style as to colors, harness, horses, and the attire of the coachman and guard.

The *Pioneer* was licensed by the City of New York as Hack 3044, and the hack license is still in place below the near lamp. It won First Prize, Plate and Ribbon at the National Horse Shows of 1929 and 1931, and is now an honored member of the Society's collection, having been presented by the Coaching Club for which, in 1898, Brewster & Company built it.

PARK COACH, PARK DRAG, OR DRAG

The Park Drag is distinguished from the Road Coach in that it was privately used and was of somewhat lighter construction and of more refined design. It became popular with the coaching revival in England and the United States in the latter 1800's, although it had made its appearance in England at a somewhat earlier date. It was generally driven by its owner and occasionally by a lady. It carried two servants (grooms) on the rear seat, except when the guests were so numerous as to require all of the outside seats; then the servants sat inside.

It was a formal vehicle and called for such treatment throughout: formal livery, harness, and other appointments. It was generally "done up" in conservative colors. It required four horses of quality, well matched of quiet colors and considerable action.

It was used for park driving, attending race meetings and other outdoor gatherings. An "imperial," which was a combination

lunch and ice-box for the "cold bird and bottle," was carried when a luncheon or supper was to be served; it fitted on the roof between the seats or in the hind boot. Note that the door of the rear boot is hinged at the bottom; thus, when let down, it became a convenient serving table. Custom forbade that the lamps be carried in their irons except when lighted; they are carried inside the coach when not in use.

The Society's Park Drag, built by Brewster & Company of Broome Street, New York City, in 1903, was in use till 1930. It became an honored member of the Society's collection in 1938 by gift of Mr. Harris Fahnestock.

BEEKMAN FAMILY COACH (XVIII CENTURY)

The term Coach "originated in Hungry at a place named Kocs from which the name itself is derived through the French coche." In its latest form, *i.e.*, close body, accommodating at least four passengers inside, with doors in the middle of the side, the

coach dates back to the 16th century. Coaches originally were heavy, clumsy, and uncomfortable, the bodies resting directly on the axels. Toward the end of the 16th century they appeared with bodies suspended from four upright posts, one at each corner of the carriage, by means of heavy leather straps, called braces. Riding became easier, but the great improvement came about a hundred years later with the advent of the spring. The style of spring on the Beekman Coach originated about 1750.

It was not until 1804 that the eliptic spring was invented in England: with it and its modifications came the final development of the coach and other carriages as well. It made possible the fastening of the axels directly to the body, thus eliminating the perch and other heavy members. A shorter, lighter, more maneuverable, and a far easier-riding vehicle ensued.

Coaches were drawn by two, four, sometimes six horses, while it was not uncommon for a royal state coach to be drawn by eight.

This vehicle known as the "Beekman Coach" was imported from France in the early 1770's by the Honorable James Beekman, and remained in his family until it was presented to The New-York Historical Society by his great-grandson Gerard Beekman in 1911.

The hook at the pole-head indicates that on occasion four horses might have been used. The coachman alone occupied the coach box, while one or two servants stood on the hind footboard, holding on by the footman holders (fabric straps). The height of the coach is 8 feet 2 inches, its overall length 13 feet 5 inches, the width of its body 4 feet 4 inches, and the diameter of its rear wheels 5 feet 3½ inches. It has folding steps with leather pads. Its door panels and the front and rear of the body still show the Beekman coat of arms. The coach was once beautifully painted and, considering its age, is still in excellent repair.

The Beekman Coach and the Powell Coach, which is at Mount Vernon, are the only known coaches of the period extant in the United States.

NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT—GOLDSMITH
(1715–1769)

by Helen Burr Smith*

NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT, one of the finest of 18th-century gold- and silversmiths, was collaterally related to our two late Presidents, Theodore and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, both having descended from the goldsmith's grandfather. His father, Nicholas Roosevelt, Jr., born 1687 at Kingston, New York, was a brother of Johannes, born 1689 also at Kingston, from whom Theodore Roosevelt decended, and of Jacobus, born 1692 in New York City, from whom Franklin Delano Roosevelt descended. These brothers were sons of Nicholas and Hilletje (Jans Kunst)Roosevelt, who were married at the New York Dutch Church, December 26, 1682, removed to Kingston where four of their ten children were born, and later returned to New York where the other six were baptised in the New York Dutch Church.

Nicholas, Jr., the goldsmith's father, married Sara Fulman (Folleman, Folman, Follemson, Solleman, Volleman, etc.) also at the New York Dutch Church on February 5, 1710. The three children of this marriage were baptised in the same church: (1) Catharina, baptised January 10, 1711; (2) Hilletje, baptised March 29, 1713, who died young; and (3) Nicholas, baptised February 6, 1715. It was this third child and only son, Nicholas, who became the goldsmith. His father died sometime between

* Miss Smith has been publishing articles on early American silversmiths for the past dozen years. She contributed the chapter and maps on "Locations of Silversmiths' Shops" to Ensko's *American Silversmiths and Their Marks* III (1948).

July 11, 1715, the date of the making of his will, and January 3, 1718, the date of his widow's release of property inherited under it. The release reads:

To all to whom these presents shall or may concern Know Ye that I, Sara Roosevelt, the widow and Relict of the within named Nicholas Roosevelt, Jr., deceased for good causes and valuable consideration do by these presents assign and set over and do forever quit claim and demand all my right title interest property of this within mentioned house and lot of ground or of all or any of my right title interest which I have or could have by a certain last Will and Testament dated July 11, 1715 made and executed by my Husband the said Nicholas Roosevelt, Jr., deceased, to my two children named Nicholas Roosevelt and Catharine Roosevelt their heirs executors administrators and assigns or survivors of them. In witness hereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this third day of January in the year 1717/18. Sara Roosevelt sealed and delivered in the presence of us Johannis Man, Peter Van Dyck.[1]

On February 28, 1718, less than two months after execution of the above document, the future goldsmith's mother married Philip Schuyler.[2] Nicholas was then three years of age. By his mother's marriage to Philip Schuyler he acquired four known half sisters and one half brother.[3] His mother was buried June 6,

[1] New York Hall of Records: Conveyances, Liber 44, 63–65. A search for the will of the goldsmith's father, mentioned therein, has been in vain.

[2] Philip Schuyler was born October 28, 1694, a son of Pieter and Alida (Van Schleetenhorst) Schuyler and a grandson of David and Catalyn (VerPlanck) Schuyler. Nowhere in the published or unpublished genealogical records of the Schuyler and Roosevelt families does it appear that Philip Schuyler had married the widow of Nicholas Roosevelt, Jr. She is listed either as an unidentified Sara Roosevelt or, in one reference, incorrectly as a daughter of Nicholas and Hilletje (Jans Kunst) Roosevelt. Her identity is made clear in the baptismal record (New York Dutch Church) of a child "Sara bp. Aug. 12, 1719," whose parents are recorded as Philip Schuyler, *Jr.* [nephew, in this case], and Sara *Folleman*. The baptism of this child was recorded the year following the marriage of Philip Schuyler and Sara *Roosevelt*, whose maiden name in the record of her marriage to Nicholas Roosevelt, Jr., appears as *Fulman*. She was married to Philip Schuyler under her married name of *Roosevelt* and had her first Schuyler child (as well as others) baptised under her maiden name, *Folleman*.

[3] They were:

1. Sara	bp. Aug. 12, 1719
2. Cathaline	bp. Dec. 3, 1721 d.y.
3. Alida	bp. Mar. 4, 1724 d. June 19, 1728
4. Pieter	bp. May 30, 1726 d. April 1, 1731
5. Cathalyntje	bp. Dec. 26, 1728 d. Dec. 26, 1729

1730,[4] when Nicholas was fifteen. What became of his stepfather is not known. He was a merchant,[5] only thirty-six years of age when he became a widower. He was then the father of two living children, one of whom died ten months later, and the stepfather of the two Roosevelt children. It seems probable that he married again, though a second marriage has not been found.

The goldsmith's own father, Nicholas Roosevelt, Jr., had bought property from Anthony Rutgers on the west side of Smith (now William) and Wall Streets on November 1, 1712. This is the property to which his widow, Sara (Folleman) Roosevelt, relinquished her right and signed the quit-claim in 1717/18 and it was probably the birthplace and home of the goldsmith until his stepfather purchased property from his brother Gerrit on Wall Street "nigh or on the dock" in 1725. One year later, the William Street property which had been owned by the goldsmith's father was sold by his executors to Cornelius Wynkoop, goldsmith, the conveyance being signed in the presence of Benjamin Wynkoop, goldsmith and father of Cornelius, and of Philip Schuyler, stepfather of Nicholas the future goldsmith. This suggests that Nicholas Roosevelt may have been apprenticed to Cornelius Wynkoop, a possibility that is strengthened by the facts that there was an in-law family relationship between the Wynkoops and the Roosevelts; that Cornelius Wynkoop made a christening bowl for Isaac Roosevelt, first cousin of Nicholas, and a bowl for his uncle and aunt, Jacobus and Catharina (Hardenbrook) Roosevelt; that Benjamin Wynkoop (father of Cornelius) made a bowl for Nicholas and Hilletje (Jans Kunst) Roosevelt, grandparents of the future goldsmith, engraved with their initials, and also a tankard for Johannes and Hilletje (Sjoerts) Roosevelt, another uncle and aunt; further, that Nicholas Roosevelt sold land in Hackensack

[4] Burials: New York Dutch Church.

[5] So termed in a deed, dated April 7, 1725, for land he bought from his "*brother, Gerrit*" and his wife, Aefie (de Groot) Schuyler.—New York Hall of Records: Conveyances, Liber 31, 374. It is an interesting fact that this couple were the grandparents of John Ogilvie, a recently identified goldsmith, working 1764, a possible apprentice to Nicholas Roosevelt.—*American Collector*, November 1747, 5.

CHRISTENING BOWL FOR ISAAC ROOSEVELT

Made by Cornelius Wynkoop, 1726

Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery

in 1742 to Cornelius Wynkoop, goldsmith. Nicholas Roosevelt became a freeman as a goldsmith, March 20, 1739.[*]

He married twice. His first wife, whom he married at the New York Dutch Church on June 5, 1737, was Catharina Comfort, born August 4, 1717, a daughter of Gerardus and Catharine (Hennion) Comfort. By this marriage he had three children: (1) Catharina, baptised March 22, 1738, who married William Kirby, February 6, 1760; (2) Sara, baptised July 18, 1740; and (3)

[*] *NYHS Collections 1885*, 138. There has been some question among researchers as to which of two Nicholas Roosevelts was the goldsmith—the one born in 1715 or his cousin born in 1717. This may now be definitely clarified by a manuscript at The New-York Historical Society written in Dutch by the first Jacobus Roosevelt, uncle of the future goldsmith, wherein Jacobus stated of his "third son, born October 9, 1717, named Nicholas," and who had married Annetje Breestede, that "he died August 15, 1740 while away on his sloop name Virgin Legend, In Jamaica." Eighteen years later "Nicholas Ro[o]sevelt, goldsmith" was named executor in the will of his sister-in-law, Susannah Thurman. *NYHS Collections 1896*, 278. This definitely eliminates the cousin born in 1717.

SILVER BOWL FOR ROBERT AND TRYNTJE BENSON
Made by Nicholas Roosevelt, New York
Courtesy of Addison Gallery of American Art

Gerardus Comfort, baptised September 8, 1742. When his first wife died is not known but on November 24, 1754, he was married a second time in the New York Dutch Church to Elizabeth Thurman, born May 9, 1725, a daughter of John Thurman and Elizabeth Wessells. By this marriage the goldsmith had three children: (1) Elizabeth, baptised January 26, 1757, who died young; (2) Nicholas, baptised October 11, 1758, who became a merchant, married a Margaret, and had a son Nicholas living at Waterford, N. Y., in 1812, and at Johannesburg, N. Y., in 1818; and (3) Elizabeth, baptised February 24, 1762, who married Robert Gilchrist, a merchant of New York and was recorded a widow of Johannesburg, in 1818. Two children by each marriage, Catharina and Sara by the first and Nicholas and Elizabeth (minors) by the second, survived their father, all being mentioned in his will.

The goldsmith was interested in politics. He was elected assistant alderman of the West Ward of the City of New York September 29, 1748. On December 29th of the same year, he was a candidate for alderman but was defeated by Pierre De Peyster. He served as assistant alderman until September 29, 1763, when he was elected alderman in which capacity he continued until September 28, 1768. On June 3d, 1768, it was "ordered that Alderman Filkin be appointed in the room of Alderman Nicholas Roosevelt who is indisposed." Examination of his attendance at the council meetings, covering twenty years, reveals his absence from only 75 of 405 meetings. The last year and a half of his service showed his absence from one or more meetings each month from March of 1767 until he resigned on September 28, 1768. This was evidently the turning point in his failing health as, the following year, his continued decline caused him to dispose of his business and move to the country. His advertisement in *The New York Gazette and The Weekly Mercury* of January 30, 1769, reads:

Nicholas Roosevelt.—To be Let, and enter'd upon the 1st of May next, The house in which Nicholas Roosevelt now lives, at the lower end of Thames Street, on the wharf fronting the North-River: The conveniency and commodiousness of the situation excells any on the river; it fronts two slips, one of which is near 100 feet broad, and the greatest part of the year is fill'd with boats and crafts, from the Jersies and North-River. The house will suit a merchant or shopkeeper, and great quantities of rum, sugar, molasses, and salt, with all manner of dry goods, have a ready sale. Is a roomy and convenient house, with seven fire-places; a large yard, in which is a pump and cistern, and a garden and grass-plot. Likewise a silver-smith's shop to be let, and the tools of the trade to be sold. Also to be sold by said Roosevelt, a parcel of ready made silver, large and small, Viz. Silver teapots and tea-spoons, silver hilted swords, sauce-boats, salts and shovels, soup-spoons both scallep'd and plain, table spoons, tea-tongs, punch ladles and strainers, milk-pots, snuff-boxes, and sundry other small articles, both gold and silver, as buckles, clasps, buttons, broaches, rings, and lockets, both plain and set with paste moco, &c. &c. which he will sell very reasonable, as he intends declining business, and to move in the Country in the spring.

The ailing goldsmith evidently moved to New Jersey where he owned salt meadows and cedar swamp at Barbadoes Neck

(near Hackensack), Bergen County. These he advertised for sale in October 1768 and on March 16, 1769, during the period of his decline in health. He also owned a dock in New Jersey as well as one in New York City on the North River and undoubtedly had carried on a lumber business between the two provinces, for John Blanck in a 1768 advertisement speaks of the Lumber-Yard at Ellis's Slip on North River as having been "formerly kept by Alderman Roosevelt," who himself advertised the sale of his boats and lumber in New Jersey shortly before his death.[7]

The month following the last dated advertisement of his New Jersey property, Roosevelt made his will (April 4, 1769) and had died in New Jersey before June 1st of the same year, when the will was proved. An abstract of the will reads:

1769—April 4—ROOSEVELT, NICHOLAS of New York City. Will of: Son, Nicholas Roosevelt my large silver tankard and English Bible: Wife, Elizabeth, old negro wench Grace. My wife and daughter, Sara, are to have support and my son, Nicholas and daughter, Elizabeth, to have support and education. If my daughter Catharine Kirby becomes a widow before the division of my estate then she is to have support. Then my real and personal I give to my wife Elizabeth and children Catharine Kirby, Sara Roosevelt, Nicholas Roosevelt and Elizabeth Roosevelt when Nicholas is twenty one.

Executors—Abraham Duryee, Isaac Roosevelt and John Thurman, *Jr.* all of New York City, Merchants.

Witnesses: Samuel Farmer, Samuel Bayard, Rudolphus Ritzema.

1769—April 16—Codicil—Daughter Catharine £100—Witnesses Daniel Dunscomb, John Thurman, Jr., Cornelius Roosevelt—

Proved June 1, 1769[8]

[7] *New Jersey Archives,* VII (1768–1769), 245–6, 398; *NYHS Collections 1938,* 182–183. A further indication that Roosevelt had for some time been engaged in lumber is the fact that, on June 3, 1754, Edmund Banton, "Sawyer, from Liverpool," had advertised his business as "lately set up . . . at the House of Mr. Roosevelt, near the North-River."—*Ibid.*

[8] *New Jersey Archives: Wills,* Vol. 33, 363. Though he does not term himself "goldsmith," proof that it is his will may be seen in the names of the legatees: his wife, Elizabeth, and his four surviving children, Nicholas, Sara, Catharine, and Elizabeth; also in the names of his executors and witnesses and that he was "of New York City." It is not known in what place he died or where his will was filed, since it appears from a thorough search that the original will is lost, though a copy is on file at Trenton.

PORRINGER FOR JAMES AND JANE BEEKMAN

Made by Nicholas Roosevelt, *c.* 1752

Privately Owned

TANKARD FOR THE DE FRIEST FAMILY

Made by Nicholas Roosevelt after 1745

Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery

SILVER MADE BY NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT

The silver made by Nicholas Roosevelt is remarkably plain, as was that of Cornelius Wynkoop, his probable master. Pieces known, exclusive of spoons, are:

1. Tankard made for his first cousin, Isaac Roosevelt and his wife, Cornelia Hoffman, married about 1752. Engraved: RV/IC. (Museum of the City of New York)
2. Three-footed tray. Engraved with an undetermined cypher. Descended through the DeLucina, Gomez, and Hendricks families. (Museum of the City of New York)
3. Tankard engraved with Van Cortlandt coat of arms. Belonged to Joanna Livingston who married Pierre Van Cortlandt in 1748, and engraved with her initials: ILVC. (Museum of the City of New York)
4. Mug. No engraving. (Museum of the City of New York)
5. Tankard. Engraved IVB. Original owners unknown. (Courtesy of Elizabeth Goelet Lenssen)
6. Teapot. Engraved: B/RI or T (probably the latter, and made for Robert Benson and Tryntje Van Borsom, who were married in 1738[9]). (Yale University Art Gallery)
7. Cream jug. Engraved: B/A A (unidentified). (Yale University Art Gallery)
8. Tankard made for the De Friest family. French coins of 1745 and 1727 set in lid and handle terminal. (Yale University Art Gallery)
9. Tankard. No engraving. (Metropolitan Museum of Art)
10. Tankard. Engraved: S/A S (probably a Schuyler piece). (Metropolitan Museum of Art)
11. Covered sugar bowl. Engraved: W C for William Cockcroft (William Cockcroft married Margareta Van Dam, December 25, 1747). (Metropolitan Museum of Art)
12. Tankard. Engraved: R/I I, possibly for Jeronimus and Jane Remsen.[10] (Brooklyn Museum)

[9] Research on the initials B/R T reveals that Robert Benson (2d) and Tryntje (Catherine) Van Borsom were married at the New York Dutch Church, August 18, 1738. Nicholas Roosevelt, their next-door neighbor, became an independent goldsmith seven months later. The Wall Street property on which Nicholas Roosevelt grew up and which was owned by his stepfather, Philip Schuyler, bordered on the Van Borsom property. Further evidence is in the family relationship: the goldsmith's first cousin, Isaac Roosevelt, was the son-in-law of Tryntje (Benson) Hoffman (sister of Robert Benson of the teapot and bowl).

[10] See "Sarah's Part in Tankard Small" by Maude Esther Dilliard in the *N. Y. Sun*, August 14, 1942.

ENGRAVED SILVER TEAPOT

Made by Nicholas Roosevelt, *c.* 1738 (?)

Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery

13. Bowl. Engraved: B, R T, probably for Robert Benson and Tryntje Van Borsom, who were married in 1738." (Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.)
14. Tankard. Made for Jacobus and Annatje (Vrooman) Schermerhorn, who were married September 4, 1762. (Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.)
15. Porringer (key-hole). Engraved: B/I I, for James and Jane (Ketteltas) Beekman who were married October 5, 1752. (Privately owned)
16. Three-footed creamer with shell feet. (Privately owned)
17. Child's tankard. Engraved with modern initials: IRLR. (Courtesy of Ginsburg & Levy)
18. Covered pint-can or small tankard. Engraved on bottom: A D (probably Abraham Duryee). Descended through the Schuyler family. (Owned by a Schuyler descendant)
19. Tankard. Engraved on base: VOLANS (a late family owner). (Privately owned)
20. Tankard. Height: $7\frac{1}{4}$". No engraving. (Privately owned)

21. Three-footed creamer. Engraved: I+B, on front of bowl. (Courtesy of Elizabeth Goelet Lenssen)

22. Pair of beakers (7⅝″ tall) made for the Bushwick Church (Brooklyn) (a part of the Old Collegiate Dutch Church). The beakers are engraved around the top just below the lip: SPREEK DAT WAAR IS / EET DAT GAAR IS / EN DRINK DAT KLAAR IS, which translates: SPEAK WHAT IS TRUE / EAT WHAT IS WELL PREPARED/AND DRINK WHAT IS PURE. They are engraved just above the base: BOSWYCK NOV^{r}: 1763.[11] [Illustrated below]

Nicholas Roosevelt made a tankard some time after 1735 for his uncle and aunt, Jacobus and Catharina (Hardenbrook) Roosevelt (married January 31, 1713), which was stolen from the house of their son-in-law, Andrew Barclay, in November 1771. It was advertised in *The New-York Gazette and The Weekly Mercury* of November 4th thus:

N.R.—Stolen out of the House of Mr. Andrew Barclay, of this City, last Thursday Evening a Quart Silver Tankard marked on the handle R/I C with a Scratch from the Bottom of the Letter R. Maker's Mark, on the Left Side of the Handle N.R. with a Scratch on the Letter R. also, and a Coat of Arms on the fore part of the Tankard. Whoever discovers the Thief so that the Tankard may be had again shall receive Five Pounds Reward, and no Question asked, Paid by Andrew Barclay.

Nicholas Roosevelt's mark was N R in a rectangle, as reproduced at the head of this article. In the early days, names of two

[11] The Claverack Dutch Reformed Church at Claverack, N. Y., has a beaker made in 1765 by Pieter DeRiemer, a nephew of Nicholas Roosevelt. The beaker in design is exactly like the pair made by Nicholas Roosevelt for the Bushwick Church and is the only other beaker of this line and form thus far to have turned up. Very probably Pieter DeRiemer was apprenticed to his uncle.—See the *New York World-Telegram and The Sun*, September 15, 1950.

COVERED SUGAR BOWL
Maker: Nicholas Roosevelt
Metropolitan Museum of Art

SILVER CREAM JUG
Maker: Nicholas Roosevelt
Yale University Art Gallery

or more syllables were divided, using two letters in their marks, as RV for *R*oose*v*elt, WK for *W*yn*k*oop, OB for *O*nckel*b*ag, etc. The "Scratch from the Bottom of the Letter R" described in the advertisement for the stolen tankard is actually an upward stroke joined to the bottom of the straight line of the letter R to form the letter V. It is erroneous belief that the conjoined RV, read VR, stands for Van Roosevelt.

GOLD MADE BY NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT

During his years as alderman, Nicholas Roosevelt is said to have been the official goldsmith of the City, for, by order of the Common Council, he made six gold boxes engraved with the arms of the City of New York for presentation to the following royal governors and commanders:[12]

[12] *NYHS Collections 1885*, 517, 519, 522, 531–2, 537–8; *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York 1675–1776*, V:420; VI:24, 28–9, 31, 225, 235–6, 237, 254, 271, 278, 445, 446; VII:18. Incidentally, on December 18, 1758, Nicholas Roosevelt was paid £11:12:10 in full of his account for marking 550 small arms and sundry sums laid out for this Corporation.–*Ibid.*, VI: 162. See also Harrold E. Gillingham, "New York Common Council Lavish with Gold Boxes," *The New York Sun*, July 6, 1935.

1. 1753—Sir Danvers Osborn, Baronet, Captain General and Governour in Chief of the Province of New York. (The Resolution of the Common Council called for a "Gold Box of about Twenty Pounds value.")
2. 1755—Sir Charles Hardy, Knight, Captain General and Governor in Chief of his Majesties Province of New York.
3. 1760—His Excellency Jefferry Amherst Esqr. Major Generall and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces in North America &c. (Nicholas Roosevelt was paid £27 for this box, July 24, 1761. He was also one of a committee of five ordered "to Prepare the Draft of Address to his Excellency General Amherst for his Success in the Reduction of Canada"—the occasion of presenting him with the freedom in a gold box.)
4. 1761—His Excellency the Honourable Robert Moncton, Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over the Colony of New York. (Nicholas Roosevelt was paid £24.4s, by order of January 13, 1762, for this box.)
5. 1765—His Excellency Sir Henry Moore, Baronet, Captain-Generall and Governour in Chief in and over the Colony of New York.
6. 1765—His Excellency the honourable Thomas Gage, Major General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's forces in North America &c. (On June 3, 1766, Nicholas Roosevelt was ordered paid £38: 10s in full for two gold boxes for this Corporation—that for Thomas Gage and Henry Moore.)[12]

Not one of the gold boxes has turned up, a probable explanation being that they were taken back to England where they have descended in the families of the recipients. There is, however, one known piece of gold work bearing his mark. It is a baby's rattle made about 1760, probably for John Crolius, the infant son of the founder of the Crolius Pottery in New York, and is

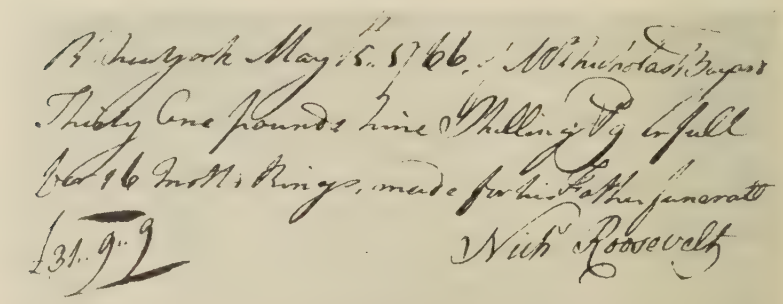
GOLD RATTLE
By N. Roosevelt
Metropolitan Museum

owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The handle of the rattle is of pink coral, the stem of hollow gold, knopped and ornately carved (in extreme contrast to Roosevelt's severely plain silver), with two rows of bells having four in each row, terminating in whistle with loop attachment on one side. Two bells are missing. According to the art records of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, "There are only a few examples of Colonial gold known today. This piece is covered with relief ornament in the rococo style which is indicative of the highest skill."

An original receipt "for 16 motto Rings, made for his [Nicholas Bayard's] Father['s] funerall" evidences more of his gold work. None of these rings, however, have come to light. This receipt, dated May 15, 1766, just three years prior to the goldsmith's death, shows his signature.[13]

Nicholas Roosevelt, as a family man, an artisan, a business man, and a politician, gave thirty-three years of his adult life in active and useful service to his fellow men and died in the prime of life at the age of fifty-four. His place of burial has not been found.

[13] Ms. Receipt Book of Nicholas Bayard, Nov. 28, 1765–Aug. 29, 1774, at The New-York Historical Society. Nicholas Bayard's father was Nicholas Bayard, a prominent merchant of the City of New York. His will was probated December 30, 1765, and his son, Nicholas, was an executor.



NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT RECEIPT FOR MOTTO RINGS

From Nicholas Bayard's Manuscript Receipt Book, 1765–1774

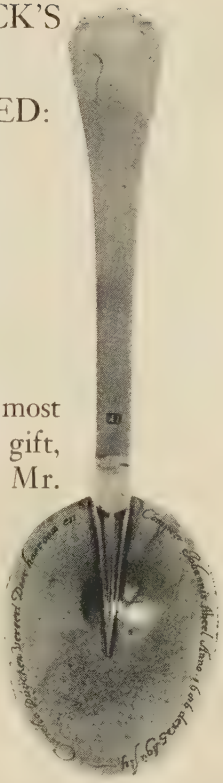
The New-York Historical Society

CORNELIA DUYCKINCK'S BIRTHDAY SPOON INSCRIBED AND DATED: AUGUST 25, 1686

MADE BY JESSE KIP

by

CAROLYN SCOON
Assistant to the Curator



THE SOCIETY has been most fortunate in receiving as a gift, through the generosity of Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, what is thought to be the second-oldest dated silver spoon made in Colonial America, a rare and valuable heirloom. It is dated 1686 and, in the opinion of Mr. Stephen G. C. Ensko, author of *American Silversmiths and Their Marks* (1948), only the privately owned spoon made in 1678 by Cornelius Vander Burgh of New York as a memorial to Nicholas Van Rensselaer is older.

The Society's spoon is a fine example of the 17th-century type, having a wrought handle with a turned-up "trifid" or "split end" and with a "rat-tail" on the back of the elliptical bowl. The touch mark—IK in a rectangle—shows clearly on the back of the handle. It is the mark of Jesse Kip (1660–1722), who worked in New York City from about 1682 to 1710.

This early New York silversmith has heretofore not been represented in our collection; in fact, only ten other examples of his work have so far been recorded. He was not even identified

until 1943, when a New York land deed of 1704 naming Jesse Kip a "Goldsmith" came to the attention of Mr. John Marshall Phillips, Director of the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts and an authority on early American silver—the first discovered clue to the identity of the silversmith who marked his work "IK." In 1697, Jesse Kip was one of the assessors in the North Ward, in which his fellow silversmiths, Jacob Boelen and Ahasuerus Hendricks, were alderman and collector respectively. He was a cousin of Peter Van Inburgh and related by marriage to Benjamin Wynkoop and Cornelius Kierstede—all early New York silversmiths. His younger brother, Benjamin Kip, and Kierstede may have worked as his apprentices.

In an article in *The Magazine Antiques*, July 1943, Mr. Phillips lists the eight then-known pieces made by Kip as follows: two sucket forks, three tankards, one porringer, and two bowls. The sucket forks bear the name of "Maria Van Renslaer" [Maria Van Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, 1654–1689], and are possibly the earliest known examples of Kip's work, although our spoon is dated "1686." The other Kip pieces listed in the above-mentioned article were made between 1692 and 1699. Since Mr. Phillips identified the silversmith and published his list, two other pieces, besides the spoon, have been discovered: a tankard engraved with the Crook coat of arms and privately owned by a descendant in Albany (information by courtesy of Miss Helen Burr Smith whose maps in the Ensko volume mentioned above show the two locations of Kip's New York shop); and a 17th-century silver sauce pan with a "cannon" handle and cover, the earliest known by an American maker, made by Gerrit Onkelbag and Jesse Kip, the former's mark: GOB appearing on the bottom of the pan, the latter's mark: IK, on the top of the cover. This was reported by Charles Messer Stow in *The New York Sun*, December 22, 1944.

The spoon presented by Mr. Prentis has a beautifully engraved Dutch inscription around the rim on the back of the bowl. It reads: "Cornelia Dúÿcken Vereert Door Haeroom en Compeer

MR. AND MRS. GERRET DUYCKINCK, PARENTS OF CORNELIA

Portraits by Garret Duyckinck (1660–*c.* 1710)

The New-York Historical Society

Johannis Abeel Anna 1686 den Agusty," which translated is: "Cornelia Duycken Gift of her uncle and godfather Johannis Abeel, August 25, 1686." Cornelia Duycken (Duyckinck) was baptised in New York on December 25, 1685, but all other statistics concerning her life and death are veiled in obscurity. However, since this spoon was given to her by her uncle and godfather on August 25, 1686, it seems reasonable to assume that the occasion was her first birthday.

More is known concerning her parents, and indeed their portraits are hanging in our gallery. Her father was Gerret Duyckinck (1660–*c.* 1710), who is thought to have been the painter of these portraits. A note in a diary of 1679 also refers to him as a glass maker. He was prominent in City politics, having been an assistant alderman for many years, and was associated with the well-known Jacob Leisler. He married Maria Abeel of Albany on July 6, 1683, and it was her brother, Johannes Abeel (1667–1711), Mayor of Albany in 1694 and 1695, who gave Cornelia her birthday spoon. It was now on display in our fourth-floor gallery.

Programme

OF

M'lle Jenny Lind's Concert

In English, Italian, Swedish, and German.

PART I.

GRAND OVERTURE

To the Romantic Opera

The Crusaders, *Julius Benedict.*

Performed by a GRAND ORCHESTRA of

SIXTY MEMBERS,

CONDUCTED UNDER THE DIRECTION

OF

M. BENEDICT.

FIRST INNER PAGE, FIRST NEW YORK PROGRAM, SEPT. 11, 1850

The New-York Historical Society

"THERE WAS A MAGIC IN HER VOICE"

WHEN JENNY LIND WAS HERE A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

by LEONIDAS WESTERVELT

JENNY LIND'S visit to America and her first concert in New York on September 11, 1850, have been described, romanticized, and depicted and the great singer herself impersonated at recitals and concerts more times than almost any other visitor to our shores throughout our history. As time goes on, her fame continues to grow rather than diminish. One would expect that on the one-hundredth anniversary of her triumph here, nothing could be found about Jenny Lind which had not been brought to light many times in the past; yet, one has only to go just a little beneath the surface to find, at The New-York Historical Society, a number of hitherto-unused items which add color and interest to the oft-told story of the Nightingale's arrival and initial concerts here.

JENNY LIND
Daguerreotype, c. 1850
Gift of Chicago Art Institute

P. T. Barnum's fabulous contract with the singer and his genius for publicity brought all New York, as everyone knows, to a well-timed peak of curiosity and anticipation just as she arrived. It was by no means an exaggeration when New York's faithful chronicler, Philip Hone, then in his 70th year and one of New York's wealthiest and most prominent citizens, characterized the excitement as the "Jenny Lind fever."

His more sophisticated reaction to this ballyhoo is fortunately recorded with other events of moment in his 28-volume manu-

script diary of which the Society is the happy possessor. Under the heading of "Arrival of Jenny Lind," dated Tuesday, September 3d, he whimsically writes: "'Sing a Song of Six-pence' at the rate of a thousand dollars a night. Our good city is in a new excitement. So much has been said, and the Trumpet of Fame sounded so loud in honor of this new importation from the shores of Europe, that nothing else is heard in our streets, nothing seen in the papers but the advent of the 'Swedish Nightingale.' Jenny Lind arrived on Sunday,* in the *Atlantic;* this noble steamer was a most fitting fiddle-case, a suitable cage for such a bird. The wharf was thronged with anxious expectants of her landing, and thousands of silly bird-fanciers following the 'Nightingale' . . . impeded her flight to the Irving House, where her perch was established, five hundred ladies? assembled to be introduced to her, her 'exits and entrances' were obstructed in the streets, and her apartments afforded no retreat, presents are showered, choice flowers exhale their fragrance, and luscious fruits court the embrace of her lips. Milliners, dress-makers, and costumers contend for the honor of furnishing gratuitously her wardrobe. A Serenade of 240 performers 'blew a blast so loud and dread' as soon as the clock of the City Hall announced the departure of the sabbath that the Marble columns of Stewart's dry-Goods palace (opposite to the Bird-Cage) could scarcely maintain their upright positions."

Two days later, on September 5th, Hone proves that the furor which he had described had not stirred him from the more carefully measured pace of a man of his years. "I went yesterday," he writes, "with my daughters to a private exhibition at the Art Union. We were invited to go at one o'clock to witness the reception and entertainment of Miss Jenny Lind at that hour, but preferred going at a later hour to avoid the crowd, they informed

* She had sailed from Liverpool on August 21, 1850, on the *Atlantic*, one of the newest side-wheel steamers, of 2,860 tons, whose captain was James West. Her arrival off Sandy Hook about one P.M., Sunday, September 1st, was announced by a double salvo. The ship stopped at Quarantine, where it took on Barnum, and so proceeded past Castle Garden to the dock.

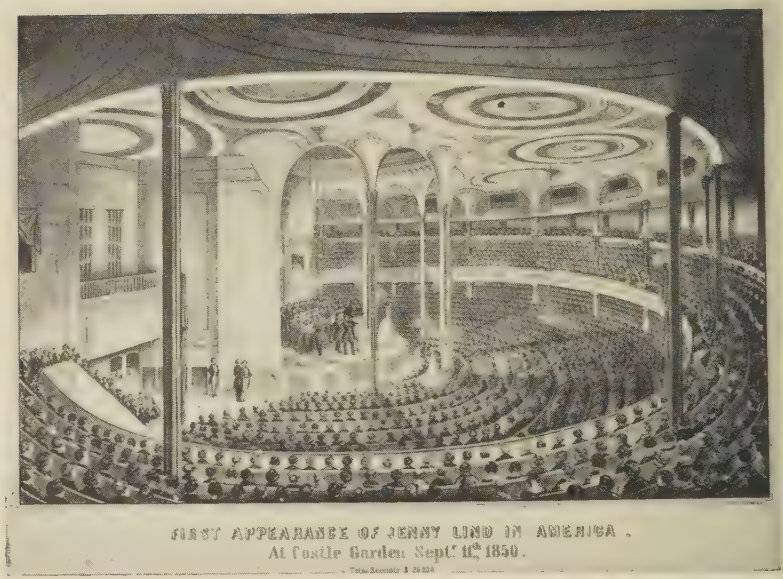
me that it was a pleasant affair. She was much pleased, partook of the ices preserved and cake prepared for her and behaved in all things like a nice little 'Nightingale.'"

He also commented that "The Committee appointed by Mr. Barnum to award the prize of two hundred Dollars for the best song to be sung by Jenny Lind at her first concert here have adjudged it to Bayard Taylor for his Song entitled 'Welcome to America.' The committee state, in their report, that the number of Competitors for this prize amounted to seven hundred of which a large proportion of the productions were 'not fit to feed the pigs,'" and confirms our suspicions that the Jenny Lind Prize Song contest, while successful from a publicity standpoint, was a considerable headache to the Conductor, Jules Benedict, who had to compose a score for the winning choice, as well as to the judges and the performer.*

Philip Hone was also a bit scornful of the method of selling tickets for the first two concerts. On Saturday, September 7th, under the curious heading of "March of Humbug," he comments: "The good-will of the tickets for the two first concerts of Jenny Lind was sold this day by Mr. Leeds, Auctioneer, at Castle Garden. The Minimum price of single seats is three dollars, they brought from $225 for the first choice, down to five dollars and a little less. The premiums amount to nine or ten thousand dollars. The price of the first choice $225 was a most transparent piece of peter-funking, overstrained and, as I think, calculated to injure the sale."

His prediction concerning the effect of the high cost of the initial tickets did not materialize, however. The Jenny Lind excitement even followed him to Saratoga Springs where he was spending a short holiday. On September 12th, he was moved, probably by a newspaper account, to write: "The Jenny Lind excitement in New York seems to have increased to fever heat. Her second rehearsal was given with renewed spirit and effect

* See Leonidas Westervelt, "The Jenny Lind Prize Song," NYHS *Quarterly Bulletin* XXII: 39–59 (April 1938).



FIRST APPEARANCE OF JENNY LIND AT CASTLE GARDEN, 1850

Lithograph by N. Currier

Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie, 1946

and received with new enthusiasm. Tickets have been sold to the amount of Fifty five Thousand Dollars. The good people of New York are anxious to part with their money *for a Song*, and the 'nightingale' will make a profitable exchange of her *notes* for specie."

Although absence from the city prevented his commenting on Jenny Lind's first concert (Wednesday, September 11th), he remarks that her second concert (Friday, September 13th) "was attended as numerously and enthusiastically as the first. Crowds follow her wherever she goes. She has been compelled to leave the Irving House and take refuge at the New York Hotel in my neighborhood to escape from the persecution.

"This Syren, the tenth Muse, the *Angel*, as Barnum calls her, the *nightingale*, by which she is designated by the would-be dilletanti, has secured the affections, as well as the admiration of

the mass of the people, by an act of Munificence, as well as good policy. Her contract with Mr. Barnum has been changed. Instead of One Thousand Dollars a night, she gets one half of the net profits. Her share of which for the first night, after deducting the large expenses of a first performance, amounted to the enormous sum of $12,600, all of which with unprecedented liberality, she distributed among the charitable and benevolent Institutions of the City. The list is headed by the Fire-department fund, to which she gives $3,000, to the Musical fund $2,000, and the balance is divided in sums of $500 each to all the other charaties [*sic*]. The noble gratuity to the Firemen is a great stroke of policy, it binds to her the support and affection of the red-shirt Gentlemen who will go to hear her sing as long as they can raise the money to pay for a ticket, and will worship the *Nightingale* and fight for her to the death if occasion should require. New York is conquered—a hostile army or fleet could not effect a conquest so complete.

"At the auction for seats at this Concert the number of tickets sold were 4676 which produced $24,750.50 which amount was increased by subsequent sales to $35,000. . . ."

By this time the Jenny Lind fever was beginning to have its effect on Mr. Hone. On September 18th he added "More Notes of the Nightingale," commenting that "The Jenny Lind excitement continues at fever heat—her second [*sic for* third] Concert was given last evening. Several Gentlemen came to the Racket-Court where I was who had been there with tickets previously provided and could not get in; Mr. Barnum told one of them that there were 11,000 persons in Castle Garden, at a cost of thirty thousand Dollars to the good people of New York, for the gratification of hearing four little Songs, which cost nothing. If it continues at this rate, Barnum and his protegée will make Money scarce; all the Gold of California will not suffice to pay for the warblings of the *Nightingale*."

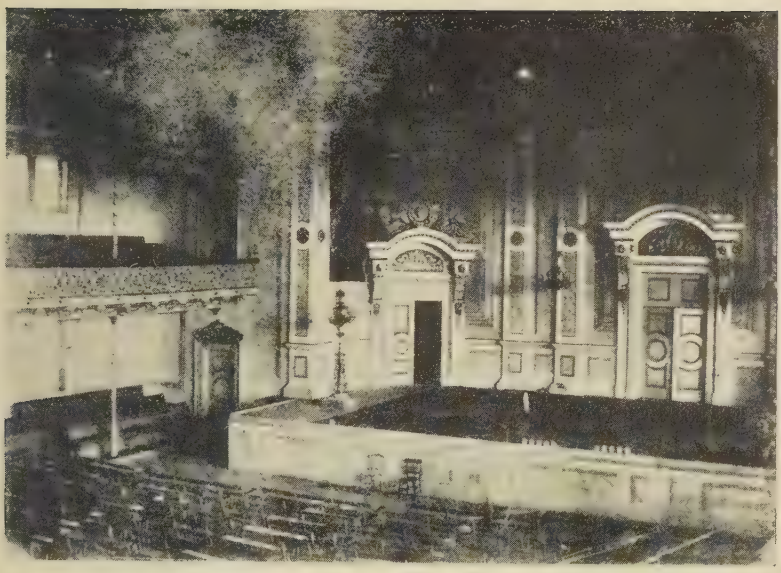
And then, Hone himself finally succumbing to the fever, we read: "I went yesterday to get a ticket from Gen[l] Hall, Mr.

Barnum's agent but it was not to be had, and he would not let me encounter such a crowd—I must wait."

The following day under the heading "Ornithology" he returns to a bit of sarcastic humor and one cannot help but ponder whether his failure to obtain a ticket had anything to do with his remarks. "This science," he says, referring to his heading, "is called into the service of Jenny Lind's admirers, Barnum says she is an Angel, which of course places her (so far at least as her Guardian can do it) in the highest rank of those intelligences who are represented to us sublunary Mortals as creatures soaring on wings in heavenly places, subjects of this beautiful Science, but out of the reach of its practical knowledge. Her familiar appelation is 'the Swedish Nightingale,' and one of her enthusiastic Eulogists campares her singing to the Notes of the Sky-Lark ascending to heaven. A 'bird of Paradise' she certainly is. I trust no sacriligious [*sic*] doubts will be raised as to whether it may not be 'the paradise of fools.' That the birds who flock after her are *gregarious* the benches of Castle Garden can testify."

A week later Jenny Lind left for Boston and Philip Hone had to admit that "her transit from one City to the other exceeded any demonstration ever known with the exception of LaFayette's. . . ." His diary continues to describe the enthusiasm with which she was received in Boston and Providence—$650 was paid for the first seat there!—and tells of her meeting with Daniel Webster, of whom she exclaimed: "Oh! I have seen a *man*, there is not such another in America." He then adds, almost hopefully, "She will be here in a few days, and give her concerts at the new hall called Tripler Hall [677 Broadway], which has been recently erected opposite to my house."

On Thursday, October 24th, Jenny Lind gave her first concert upon her return to New York and Philip Hone was, at long last, in the audience. Let him tell of it: "Light shines upon these northern regions of the City—the Music of the Spheres has found a new Sphere of Action—the Notes of the Nightingale make joyful the tasteful walls of Tripler Hall—Jenny Lind gave her



INTERIOR OF TRIPLER HALL, 677 BROADWAY
Where Philip Hone first heard Jenny Lind October 24, 1850
From a wax paper negative made by Victor Prevost, *c.* 1853

The New-York Historical Society

first Concert this evening since her return from Boston and Philadelphia at this new temple of Concord, which is to be her theatre as long as the New Yorkers wish to hear her. If she continues to attract such Audiences as she had to-night, she will never go away, unless her voice does.

"I gave four Dollars and got a good seat in the gallery. It was a beautiful performance, there is a Magic in her voice, a sort of bird-like sweetness, which is peculiar to her and constitutes her charm." Then we perceive a reaction so typical of those who have been forced to wait long periods before seeing an attraction praised to the skies. He goes on, "but whether it is owing to my being older, less enthusiastic, and more impatient under the restraint of a 'protracted sitting' in a confined posture, I know not, but my pleasure was not so great that I formerly experienced when Gurcia (Malibran) sang and acted.

"I have seen Jenny Lind and do not regret it, but I shall not go again until the fire burns down a little. The crowd was awful, orderly and well behaved, certainly, but not a suitable place for three Score and ten ('to which complexion I have come at last'). The whole arrangements for preserving order and accommodating the four or five thousand persons were excellent but there is but one Stair-case, One door of entrance and exit, a serious fault in the construction of the building, and calculated to alarm timid people, for if the interior should be on fire there would be no means of escape, and the immense mass of respectable Men and well dressed Women get up an awful performance of a new der-*Fry*chutz [Freischütz]."

Philip Hone was as good as his word, for not until Monday, November 18th, did he again attend a concert, which he records under "Day Concert" and proceeds with: "Margaret, Katherine and I joined the immense throng which entered Tripler Hall this morning at ½ past One O'clock to listen to the *day* Notes of the *Swedish Nightingale*. We were delighted; she sang, in a most enchanting manner, all her best pieces, Casta Diva, the Bird Song, the Song of the Mountaineers, and the Echo Song, which she has never omitted since she first warbled to a New York Audience, for the reason that they would not dispense with it.

"The selection of Music was excellent, the beautiful Hall, so well calculated for hearing and seeing, was well filled with a more respectable Audience, and none there were more gratified than myself and my little party."

And there we have assembled for the first time and as fresh as last night's memories, the story of Jenny Lind's appearances in New York as observed firsthand by a keen, intelligent gentleman of impeccable taste.

Notes pertaining to the Swedish singer's visit here, of an entirely different character, are also to be found in the Society's archives. Philip French and Christopher Heiser were the proprietors of Castle Garden at the time of Jenny Lind's visit and the Society is in the possession of a day book, kept by Heiser

between the years 1843 and 1851, representing receipts taken in, cash disbursements, as well as short notes of some of the more outstanding events and a report on each day's weather. Although by no means as full of detail and opinions as Hone's Diary, the day book, during the period of the Jenny Lind concerts, gives a terse glimpse of the activities at Castle Garden through the eyes of its proprietors.

The first note is found under the date of September 7th: "The sale of tickets for the first concert of Jenni [*sic*] Lind took place this day and brought forth a good attendance. There was a great deal of dissatisfaction about our charging 1/ admission [*just to enter the garden in order to purchase a ticket*] although everything passed off well." This entry is followed by Sept. 8: "The Jenny Lind excitement is up to the highest point." Sept. 9: "Auction Sale of tickets for Jenny Lind's Concert—admission free—1st rehearsal took place this afternoon—doors closed—great crowd on the bridge to witness Jenny Lind's departure from the garden." Sept. 10: "2nd rehearsal this day—garden closed during the time, fine weather." Sept. 11: "1st Grand Concert by Jenny Lind, House nearly full, all the Seats were Sold, some 3 or 400 were left on the speculator's hands—Showers at ½ past 3 PM—fine weather in the Evening—Garden closed at ½ past 10 A. M. by Order of Barnum." Sept. 12: "Auction Sale of tickets for the 2nd Concert of Jenny Lind, fine weather, Very high wind—admission 12½ cents." Sept. 13: "2nd Grand Concert by Jenny Lind, fine Weather all day and Evening, House full—everything passed off in grand style—great enthusiasm." Sept. 15: ". . .fine weather Day & Evening, great excitement to see the preparations made for the Jenny Lind concerts at the Castle." Sept. 16: "Garden closed part of the day for rehearsal—fine weather day & Evening." Sept. 17: "3rd Grand Concert by Jenny Lind, House full—Supposed to be 7,000 persons—fine weather day & Evening." Sept. 18: "fine weather day and evening—the excitement is still up." Sept. 19: "4th Grand Concert by Jenny Lind, full House, over 7,000—cloudy all day

threatening a storm, Evening fine—House too full for Bar business." Sept. 20: "Closed part of the day for rehearsal, fine weather all day & Evening." Sept. 21: "5th Grand Concert by Jenny Lind, full House—fine weather all day and evening—house too full for business." Sept. 24: "6th Grand Concert of Jenny Lind, fine Weather day & Evening, about 10,000 persons present—great enthusiasm." Sept. 25: "fine weather—all this day occupied in the removal of seats—Rec'd from P. T. Barnum for use of Garden—$1527.33."

Several recent additions to the Jenny Lind collection now on permanent display at the Society are worth mentioning. One is a small daguerreotype of the singer presented by the Art Institute of Chicago, probably made during her American Tour. Another is a small alabaster bust by S. Joseph, the gift of Mrs. G. C. Beach.

Finally, a recent acquisition brought a rare original copy of the program of Jenny Lind's first appearance in America at Castle Garden. Prior to this acquisition, the collection contained only a supposed facsimile, which, when compared with the original, was found to vary in a number of ways. The chief difference lies in the order of the selections themselves; whereas the "facsimile" lists as the opening selection of part I the Grand Overture to *Oberon* by C. M. Von Weber and as the opening selection to part II the Grand Overture to *The Crusaders* by Julius Benedict, the newly acquired original shows these to have been reversed, with *The Crusaders* first and *Oberon* second, thus agreeing with reports appearing in the following morning's newspapers that Conductor Benedict opened the program with an overture from the opera, *The Crusaders*. This was evidently a change decided upon during the final hours, because the program was advertised in advance in the daily press in the order shown in the "facsimile" and Odell in his *Annals of the New York Stage* accepts this as fact. There are also bibliographical variations, such as the cover, which on the original is plain except for the single word, "Programme," and on the "facsimile" contains vignetted portraits of Jenny Lind, Jules Benedict, Giovanni Belletti, and P. T. Barnum.

JENNY LIND
Alabaster Bust
By S. Joseph

Gift of
Mrs. G. C. Beach
1947

The advertising matter on the covers, too, is entirely different, that of the "facsimile" apparently having been taken from a program of a later date. The Society has one dated November 13, 1850, at Tripler Hall which contains advertising identical to that found on the "facsimile." The typography, including fancy borders, of the inner pages, on the other hand is similar.

In closing it is indeed a genuine satisfaction to be able to record that the structure in which this and many other great events took place is at last assured of preservation. Since 1941, when old Castle Garden, later the New York Aquarium, was threatened with demolition, The New-York Historical Society, in concert with other organizations interested in its preservation, waged what at times looked like a losing battle to save it. Its final rescue from the hands of the wreckers was accomplished when President Truman signed the bill providing funds for the National Park Service to take over the old landmark and restore it to its original appearance as a fort, named Castle Clinton in honor of New York's Mayor, DeWitt Clinton. And so, in the 100th Anniversary year of Jenny Lind's triumph, the scene of her triumph is assured of a future, already being a symbol of the past and an inspiration to the present.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Andrew Bradford, Colonial Journalist. By Anna Janney De Armond. (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1949. ix + 272 pages, including biblio., indexes, illus. $3.00.)

In an unadorned, factual style, Anna Janney De Armond has made a valuable contribution to the history of colonial journalism with this volume. Its title would lead one to expect a biography of Andrew Bradford, printer of Philadelphia from about 1713 until 1742. Actually, the volume is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the life of the printer, the second being an exhaustive analytical study of his newspaper, *The American Weekly Mercury*, and the third the story of his short-lived adventure into magazine publishing with the establishment of what was probably the first American monthly, *The American Magazine*.

Following a succinct and capable introduction on the Philadelphia press from 1685 to 1713, the author tells all she has been able to glean from all pertinent sources about the life of our printer. This occupies only thirty-two pages because, as the foreword explains, the study is severely restricted by lack of material since Bradford left no direct descendants who might have passed on letters and family papers, and, except for a few dramatic episodes, his life was one of unobtrusiveness and convention. Even the fact that he was the eldest son of William Bradford, first printer in both Philadelphia and New York, is of little help, since the facts surrounding William's life are almost equally obscure.

It is, however, in the remaining two hundred-odd pages that the greatest contribution is made, for here is undertaken the unusual project of analysing in a systematic way the various characteristics and elements which made *The American Weekly Mercury* the important and successful newspaper that it became. First is discussed the history of the publication which began in December of 1719, some fifteen years after the *Boston News Letter*, and continued until May of 1746, five and one half years after Bradford's death. Then follow chapters enlightening the reader on the *Mercury's* news sources, its coverage of colonial, intercolonial, and foreign affairs, its reflection of the contemporary scene, its editorials and features, its literary items and whence obtained, and its influence and popularity in Pennsylvania and adjoining provinces. One interesting chapter is devoted to politics of the day with emphasis on the Bradford-Hamilton controversy. Although good reasons are advanced why the Zenger trial in New York, in which Andrew Hamilton played so important a role, was practically ignored by the *American Mercury*, sufficient facts have not been culled to explain the antipathy of Bradford towards Hamilton. The inference which one might draw from the letters, responses, charges and counter-charges anonymously printed in the weekly columns, is that the conflict was political rather than personal.

Benjamin Franklin appears frequently throughout as a not-very-friendly competitor and printer of the rival *Pennsylvania Gazette*, perhaps most conspicuously in part III which describes the race between him and Bradford to be the first to issue a magazine. As the author points out, this race was injurious to both, preventing adequate subscriptions from being obtained prior to launching the projects. As a result, although Bradford's *The American Magazine* was published first, it lasted for only three issues while Franklin's *General Magazine And Historical Chronicle* continued but for six.

Bradford's quarrel with Franklin over the latter's refusal, as postmaster, to permit the *Mercury* to be sent through the post free is also brought into the chapter, with the explanation by Franklin that the postmaster general ordered this because Bradford, a previous postmaster, had not settled his accounts with the government and hence had forfeited the privilege of free postage. The author also points out, in defense of Bradford, that nearly all colonial postmasters were slow in bringing in their accounts because of the current policy of giving credit for mail.

Anna De Armond's book is not one to be read lightly. It is completely factual and heavily documented—one chapter alone having 286 footnotes. Many of them refer to issues of the *Mercury* by number, instead of by date. To compensate for this a complete list of the issues, correlating the number with the date has been included preceding the general index. The latter could be improved by further analytical treatment, especially under such headings as William Bradford, Benjamin Franklin, *Pennsylvania Gazette* and others. Also included in the portion following the text is a genealogical chart of the Bradford family through the first five generations in America, the wills of Andrew Bradford and his widow, Cornelia, and a well-selected bibliography. Having completed this task, perhaps we may hope that she will undertake a bibliography of Andrew Bradford imprints as a companion volume.

The New-York Historical Society ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR.

The College of the City of New York: A History, 1847-1947. By S. WILLIS RUDY. (New York: City College Press, 1949. xi + 492 pages, biblio., index, illus. $6.00.)

This is the official history of the City College, published to celebrate the centenary of the establishment of what for half its history was only a high school. As college histories go, this one is superior. It is no public-relations release, but an honest attempt to summarize the chronicle of CCNY. The disagreeable experiences are not glossed over; even the follies of the late President Robinson, for instance, are adequately detailed.

The author has brought to his task not only candor but great industry and patience in research. These qualities do not quite produce the definitive analysis of the history of the college. The reader will find here a

mine of information, but he will find some important developments left in obscurity. We should like to know, for example, just when CCNY became a college in the accepted sense of the term. As late as 1900 the State Board of Regents were demanding that the curriculum be put on a basis to conform with State standards for degree-giving institutions. Mr. Rudy has recorded the protests of General Webb who, as President, gave City College the tone of a boys' military school, but he has failed to show just when reform of the upper college came.

More seriously, the author fails to integrate the history of the college with the social history of the city and with the history of higher education in the United States. The City College is a distinctive, indeed, a unique institution. It is not just another college nor even another public college; it is in a class by itself. It has attracted a student body perhaps unequalled in aptitude, seriousness, and homogeneity, but it has done poorly by them. The plant and services have always been disgracefully inadequate. The faculty has never commanded high regard in the academic profession; not even the unusually high salary scale has overcome the difficulty of recruiting teachers. And the administrators have been more distinguished for prideful penny-pinching than for bold and imaginative educational leadership.

City College has always been hypersensitive to minority-group pressures and has never enjoyed the loyalty of the whole community as have the State colleges of the midwest. Group pressures have operated negatively to impoverish and sterilize CCNY. Fear of antagonizing real-estate interests, religious denominations, political parties, private colleges, and national-descent groups has meant the chronic failure to administer the college aggressively in the interests of the students. As early as 1869 religious quotas governed the distribution of teaching appointments; during World War I it was thought necessary to penalize those who studied German; a few years later it seemed necessary to conciliate certain groups in the city with gratuitous honoring of visiting Italian Fascists.

The college has been captive to another, more subtle, pressure. It serves a group of students whose social and economic insecurity is equalled only by its ability and ambition. How far have these insecurities led them to exaggerate the utility of educational labels in conferring status? To what extent has insecurity made them distrustful of educational experiment and not only uncritical of the didactic tradition but insistent that it be followed?

CCNY affords an exciting opportunity for studying these problems of ideological conformity in the social structure. That opportunity still awaits the scholar. When he comes along he will thank Mr. Rudy for assembling much useful information, but he will regret that the City College Press has so poorly indexed its first publication.

Oberlin College THOMAS LE DUC

The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling, Nineteenth Century Reformer. By Carl Wittke. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950. xi + 327 pages, including biblio. note, index, illus. $4.50.)

Carl Wittke, historian of immigration and Dean of the Graduate School at Western Reserve University, has written the first full biography in English of a fascinating but forgotten personality. Wilhelm Weitling was one of those passionate idealists who championed the cause of the industrial worker in the middle of the 19th century, when a monstrous machine civilization threatened to annihilate the independent skilled craftsman.

Sympathetically but critically, Dr. Wittke describes Weitling's career of agitation: his motivation, his pet schemes, his quarrels with fellow reformers, and his final disillusionment. An illegitimate child of a German servant girl and a French artilleryman who died in Napoleon's ill-fated 1812 campaign, Weitling grew up in poverty as a journeyman tailor. His restless nature led him from Germany to Paris, center of revolution, where he hobnobbed with radical refugees and imbibed the ideas of Lamennais, Saint-Simon, Fourier, and other reformers. As leader of a revolutionary "League of the Just," Weitling moved to Switzerland to propagate "communism." Jailed and banished (in an atmosphere strikingly parallel to the current American anti-subversive psychology), Weitling sailed for America, but soon returned to Europe to participate in the Revolution of 1848. After the uprising failed, he came to New York, a more promising location for social experiments.

When Weitling landed at the Empire City in 1849 he found in its thriving German community considerable unrest among the tailors, shoemakers, and other artisans. He organized German workers there and in other cities into an *Arbeiterbund* and published *Die Republik der Arbeiter* to expound his theories and dish out propaganda for this workers' league. After linking the *Bund* with "Communia," a utopian settlement in Iowa, he was frequently accused of mismanagement and profiteering at the expense of the *Bund*. Dr. Wittke concludes that these charges were unfounded; throughout this well-balanced, critical book he shows Weitling as a would-be labor dictator in whom criticism bred a feeling of martyrdom.

Weitling's philosophy was basically moral. Marx and Engels had no effect on him, Dr. Wittke says, for though Weitling disliked formal churches of any kind his religious nature rejected Marxist materialism. He saw himself as a Messiah urging men to combat the sins of selfishness, fear, and cowardice, to fight for social justice and to oppose the unequal distribution of wealth and the existing monetary system. To abolish the monopoly power of capitalists he proposed "banks of exchange" in which workers would deposit commodities and receive in exchange paper

money based solely on the labor value of the products which were deposited.

During the early 1850's Weitling dominated German labor in New York. By 1853, however, materialistic, beer-drinking Teutons had already abandoned his panaceas for the more practical program of Weydemeyer, the Marxian. Weitling, disillusioned, abandoned reformism and returned quietly to tailoring. In 1871, in a modest house on Stanton Street, this undisciplined but remarkable reformer, inventor, author of fantastic treatises on astronomy and a universal language, passed into eternity.

This admirable biography is notable for its new emphasis on Weitling's American career: his relations with German coöperatives, the *Bund*, "Communia," and the first German Labor Congress ever held in the United States. The main sources are Weitling's published writings and private papers, the latter made available by his son, Terijon Weitling of New York.

Adelphi College — Robert Ernst

Washington Allston: A Study of the Romantic Artist in America. By Edgar Preston Richardson, Director, the Detroit Institute of Arts. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948. ix + 234 pages, catalogue, biblio., index, 59 plates, color frontis. $10.00.)

Three recent volumes by Dr. Richardson may well be considered as a trilogy. His *The Way of Western Art, 1776–1914* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1939) paints in broad strokes the inter-relationship of American with European arts. The author also demonstrated the kinship between painting, philosophic thought, and literary trends. In 1944, Richardson selected one of the more significant of these trends for more detailed study in his volume on *American Romantic Painting.*

The weight of historical evidence amassed in the two preceding volumes virtually compelled Richardson to devote particular study to the painter-philosopher Washington Allston (1779–1843), who was perhaps the dominant figure of Romantic painting in America.

Richardson's book is not a biography. The preparation of such a work is left to other hands. The present volume deals with Allston's art and thought not only in relationship to the philosophy of his own day but also to our own. By way of recapturing the artist's *oeuvre*, 197 paintings were catalogued by the author in collaboration with Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana. The 59 halftones and one color plate add vividness to the text. Might not a list of paintings erroneously attributed to Allston have been added? In his text the author analyzes and clarifies the profundities and obscurities of the artist-philosopher. In his day, Washington Allston was a titan of art as well as of aesthetic reasoning. From both viewpoints, the book is worthy both of Allston and Richardson.

Washington, D. C. — George C. Groce

Niagara Country. By Lloyd Graham. ["American Folkways" series, edited by Erskine Caldwell.] (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1949. xiii + 321 pages, index. $3.50.)

This book is not, strictly speaking, history; but it is the stuff from which history is made. For the early history of the Niagara region one goes to Frank H. Severance's "An Old Frontier of France"; for a complete account, to John T. Horton's "History of Erie County." And both are written with that combination of charm and accuracy which are associated with their names. Both are professional historians, which Mr. Lloyd Graham is not. But his approach is not that of the amateur. He wants history to be readable. He does not give us too many facts; but those that he does give are furbished forth with a picturesque, chatty style which should not fool his readers into thinking that his book is ephemeral journalism.

Niagara Country is apparently the 18th in the series called "American Folkways." We have had "American Rivers" and "American Lakes" and perhaps other bits of geography taken more or less out of context and dressed up ostensibly to prove their interest not only for local readers but for those who want to be shown the historical connection between isolated sections and the country as a whole. Few areas can meet this double challenge better than that included in this book: "if you pinpoint Niagara Falls and draw a circle with a radius of fifty miles and the Falls at the center."

Surely no other region anywhere near so restricted has had such a plethora of events fantastic, romantic, as well as historical. Graham does more than justice to the human side of the story. His sense of humor is all the more real for being subtle. But how easy it is to poke fun at the Fenians of 1866; the attempt of the so-called Holland Land Company to perpetuate its stockholders by giving their unspellable names to the streets of the embryonic Buffalo; the proclamations of the militia generals whom their men would not follow across the river in 1812. What a year was 1825! It produced a combination of unrelated events which, following one upon the other in rapid succession that summer, must have left the inhabitants of the village gasping. The visit of Lafayette, Major Noah's attempt to found a city of refuge for the Jews upon Grand Island, the hanging of the three Thayers, the opening of the Erie Canal: it was an *annus mirabilis* for everybody but the three Thayers.

Often Graham works too hard to achieve his appearance of being one of the boys telling yarns in the general store. While his style has unexpected genuine gems of humor, it often cheapens its effect by going too far. Parts of the book seem hastily written. How would a purist deal with this sentence: "Having made a deal for the land, the next thing was to make a home . . ."; or "Wilkeson schemed to lick the sand bar problem across the mouth of the creek by damming up the mouth. . . ." The in-

vasion at the time of the Pan-American Exposition of a number of ladies of easy virtue from New York draws this comment: "The New York gals were arrested, and next morning the court gave them twenty-four hours to get out of town, a noteworthy victory for the protection of home industry."

No doubt about it; the book is extremely readable; its faults are trivial. It retraces old ground, in which it can carve out few new paths; but for each generation a new interpretation of the atmosphere breathed by its immediate predecessors is not only justified but essential. No better book to introduce neophytes to the genuine historical importance of this fascinating area can be recommended. But failure to include at least one map is inexcusable.

University of Buffalo JULIAN PARK

The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Inquiry into the Salem Witch Trials. By MARION LENA STARKEY. (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1949. xviii + 310 + vii pages, biblio., index. $3.50.)

Jonathan Edwards. By PERRY MILLER. [The American Men of Letters Series.] (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1949. xv + 348 pages, index, frontis. $3.50.)

"If," said Cotton Mather somewhere in the *Brand Plucked Out of Burning*, "I should now venture to suppose, that the Witches do sometimes come in person to do their Mischief, and yett have the horrible skill of cloathing themselves with Invisibilities, it would seem romantic. . . ." The words are Cotton Mather's, and even if they aren't one of his highest flights of fancy, they might as well be quoted, because the English language, as anyone can see, meant something to Mather; the words were living, and what Mather said will always be read by someone sometime, no matter how peculiar Mather's ecstasies and Mather's dreams of a theocracy may seem nowadays and in the days to come.

One would think, if one were trying to recreate the dismal frontier that was New England in the 17th century, one would remember that the Puritan Century was also the age of John Donne and Jeremy Taylor. Not that the Mathers, not that any American so mastered the intricacies of baroque prose that they could write a sentence to compare with Taylor's panegyric of Lady Carbery, who, you may recall, "in all her religion, and in all her actions of relation towards God . . . had a strange evenness and untroubled passage, sliding toward her ocean of God and of infinity with a certain and silent motion."

Even if such passages are not to be found in the sermons of 17th-century American divines, the provincial clergymen were well aware of the possible eloquence of the English language, and to try to evoke the Salem whose witches troubled Cotton Mather without once quoting a telling 17th-century phrase, is to try to design a stage set without pens, pencils, watercolors, or paper. This, however, is exactly what Marion L. Starkey, the authoress of *The Devil in Massachusetts*, has attempted. A

one-time reporter who boned up on her Freudian psychology, she has read over all the standard works on the Salem witch-hunts, and turned out a book which is singularly unpenetrating. Her occasional lapses into the terminology of 20th-century psychoanalysis are rather unfortunate, and her prose style is pedestrian at its best; at its worst, she dares to refer to the "flight de luxe" of one of her witches.

Since Professor Perry Miller, the author of *Jonathan Edwards*, is known to be one of the great authorities on Puritan New England, the casual reader might suppose that this biography was written in the ungraceful English for which too many academicians are famous. The truth is, however, that although Miller's scholarship is genuine, the polish of his prose might be envied by a novelist.

At times, as when he speaks of the "religion of silence" in New England, Professor Miller comes close to evoking the world of *Ethan Frome*. "The code of New England, then and for a century thereafter," he reminds us, "demanded certain amenities. When there is a disgrace or a deed that troubles the family conscience, a New England clan does not confess its shame; it closes ranks, never talks about the affair, but keeps the memory alive within the tribal system. The deeper the chagrin, the more resolute the silence, the more persistent the legend. In the watches of the night, the children learn it; they keep their mouths grimly shut until the time comes to whisper it to their children, but awareness remains a daily condition of their lives. By an extension of courtesy—or a refinement of hatred—the neighbors, especially those who have suffered by the deed, wrap it in silence, yet for generations they too cherish the recollection. . . ."

But there is not a page of Professor Miller's biography which is not a delight to read, and even those readers who are not prepared for the philosophic reaches which the author explores in his effort to prove that Edwards was "one of America's five or six major artists" will be driven to ponder his claims to the best of their abilities. According to Professor Miller, Edwards "rejected the metaphysics and logic of original Puritanism and substituted Newton and Locke, but he used science and sensation, not to effect a new system of theology, but to bring men face to face with what Puritanism always demands that they face, the divinity of divinity."

"The real life of Edwards," Miller insists, "was the life of the mind." So he focusses his attention on the drama of his ideas, trimming the external biography to the basic essentials. This is done so skillfully, and the pleading is so convincing, that one can't accuse the author of exaggeration when he states that Edwards, who "never saw a cathedral or an art gallery, never heard a symphony or an opera, out of the beauty of the world and the beauty of virtue . . . came to a vision of beauty for which the existence or non-existence of matter is but a verbal quibble, a beauty which, being seen, puts the creature beyond all anxiety concerning his own annihilation."

The New-York Historical Society WAYNE ANDREWS

Gold Rush Album. Joseph Henry Jackson, Editor-in-Chief. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949. 239 pages, 352 illus., 3 maps, index. $10.00.)

One of the most vivid of the many accounts published to help California celebrate her three Centennials (the 1848 Discovery of Gold, the 1849 Gold Rush, and the 1850 Statehood) is this pictorial coverage of the events. The unobtrusive text bears you along the way, from the East to the source of quick wealth—by the Overland Trail, by the Santa Fe Trail, over the Isthmus of Panama, and by sea around the Horn, tells of the life of the gold fields, and of the changes wrought in a decade. But it is the illustrations that bear the burden of the story here. Brought together from many sources, they make possible for the "reader" to relive the whole exciting chaotic adventure. Among the most interesting are the contemporary cartoons and the on-the-scene sketches of incidents, often amusing and always colorful. Examples of the latter drawn by Frank Marryat, J. D. Borthwick, Ferran and Baturone, and Alonzo Delano, which they later used to illustrate their own published stories of the "Rush," are especially good. They bring to life the spirit of the times and of the people who lived in the country shown in its majesty and misery in pictures drawn by gold-seekers and by Government survey artists. The trails leading to hoped-for fortunes and the valleys and rivers where it was lying are also depicted in three excellent end-paper maps. The collection has been put together with sympathy for and understanding of the various aspects involved in this fascinating period of American history.

R.L.

Gold Is the Cornerstone. By John Walton Caughey. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948. xvi + 321 pages, biblio., index, illus. $4.00.)

Land in California. By W. W. Robinson. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948. xiv + 291 pages, appendixes, biblio., index, illus. $4.00.)

Gold Is the Cornerstone and *Land in California* constitute part of the series, "The Chronicles of California," which have been published to celebrate that State's centennial, 1848–50—1948–50. The former deals with the whole story of California's remarkable bonanza from the discovery of gold at the mill on the American River to the cultural by-products once the initial furor of the "gold fever" had subsided. Such a comprehensive survey leads one through the gradual unfolding of events commencing with John A. Sutter's experiment as the feudal baron at New Helvetia. The actual discovery of the gold by John Marshall, the pledge of secrecy, indiscretions by all concerned, capped with Sam Brannan's exhibitionism at San Francisco, should have marked the beginning of the rush. Those on the scene in and around California constituted the mining

forty-eighters, but the inadequacy of accurate communications plus the natural reluctance to leave the familiar for the unknown accounted for the lapse of time before people were convinced of enough gold in California to bother going after. But the following year "gold fever" was epidemic and the methods of getting to California were laid out: the Panama route, the ocean trip around Cape Horn, and the most popular trek across the continent via the Overland Trail and its variations. Methods of mining once the gold fields were reached, the deportment of the miner at work and play, and the many other details which make up the lives of communities sprung so suddenly and founded so precariously are well treated. The author's contention that his subject has waited for him is difficult to question, for nowhere else can the story be found so completely within a single volume. In a work which is essentially introductory a few more illustrations and maps would have rounded out and enhanced the presentation. In a project of such broad scope it was impossible to cover all phases of the story in minute detail, and the author has supplemented his fine offerings with a rich bibliography to facilitate further delving on the reader's part. As the author states, much idle time has been spent pondering the big "ifs" in American history, an important one being "if California had not been ushered into the American family with a gold spoon in her mouth." She was, however, with resultant influences which have pervaded the State's history and persist to the present day. Surely, as Mr. Caughey presents the case, gold *is* the cornerstone.

Land in California is chronologically less compact than *Gold Is the Cornerstone*, for here is the story of California told in terms of its land. It traces land history from the days when the Indians were in possession to the present. The book runs the whole gamut of land policies, covering such topics as the possessory claims of the Indian and how they gradually faded with the invasion of the white man; the birth of the missions under which land was held in trust for the Indians until they were Christianized and civilized, when the land would revert to them again in the form of pueblos; the growth of the presidio, originally conceived as protection for the missions and pueblos, into pueblos themselves; and the rancho movement which got under way as the solution to the "land for veterans" cry back in 1784 under the Spanish. The complexities connected with dealing with squatters, mining claims, land grants to railroads, and land for settlers are more phases of this involved tale. A vast amount of material has been carefully screened for the essentials, and, though a multiplicity of fact remains, it has been organized into an extremely useful and readily comprehensible development. Mr. Robinson has set to work on what must surely have seemed an undecipherable potpourri and he has converted it into a sensible and informed study.

Both these books are eminently suited to fulfill their aim of being "enduring commemorations of California's centennial."

The New-York Historical Society JUDITH PLESS

Folklore and Firesides in Pomfret, Hampton and Vicinity. By Susan J. Griggs. (Abington, Conn.: Privately Printed, 1950. 162 pages + 118, illus., maps, index of names. $10.00.)

The early history of small localities is seldom written in such a thorough and entertaining fashion that it holds the attention of the non-native as well as it does that of the territory's initiates. Mrs. Griggs has done such a job for the Connecticut counties of Hampton and Pomfret. Here is close to a house-by-house description of the area, its first settlers, the homesteads they built, and something of the succeeding story of each building including the present owner of those still standing, and photographs of many of them. Here too is much genealogical material, as well as authentic stories, traditional tales, and anecdotes of the region's pioneers.

The second part of the book, which deals with Hampton and vicinity, was originally published in 1941 and is now reprinted with the similar material on Pomfret, its neighboring county to the north. A large map of this, and much of the surrounding area, is helpful in locating the homesteads mentioned, while the reproduction of a map published in Hartford in 1856 is valuable in showing highways and dwellings of an earlier period.

This should be an increasingly useful book. It has brought together much scattered information from local records and from people's memories and preserved it as a whole for future generations of residents in these counties to read, enjoy, learn from, and be proud of.

R.L.

The Voice of the Old Frontier. By R. W. G. Vail. [A Publication of the Rosenbach Fellowship in Bibliography.] (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. xii + 492 pages, biblio., index. $15.00.)

The literature of the American frontier has a freshness, a variety, a raciness, and a wild poetry that appeal to many sides of our interest; it not only fascinates the mind, but quickens the imagination. Anyone who picks up George Percy's delightful account of what Captain John Smith's men found in Virginia, or John Lawson's sprightly description of Indian life in the Carolina wilderness, or those Wisconsin notes of Jonathan Carver which so pleased Coleridge, enters at once the domain of wonder. This frontier literature, even in the first two centuries of settlement within the bounds of the present United States, was very extensive. It was remarkably cosmopolitan, including more works in French, German, Spanish, Dutch and other tongues than most people suppose. The three books named are familiar to everybody, and so are perhaps thirty or forty more. Beyond these two-score titles, however, are to be found many unfamiliar works that will repay not only the special student but

the general reader for a careful examination. At long last we have a map and guide, both expert and readable, for this great area in our early letters.

Mr. Vail has in fact given us one of the most valuable books of reference in American history published in many years. It is a volume with which, hereafter, every student interested in the American frontier from Florida to the trans-Mississippi Northwest, from Maine to Louisiana, and (in temporal terms) from Nunez Cabeza da Vaca in 1542 to Judge William Cooper of Cooperstown in 1810, will have to be familiar. It is much more than a bibliography—though the bibliographical work is done with the finish and completeness that we would expect of the author. By virtue of its eighty-page introduction, and of the illuminating annotations of the books listed, it is a contribution of permanent value to the interpretation of the frontier. It will help give this special department of letters—too long bracketed with "books of travel"—the dignity it deserves. The volume should be placed alongside Turner's classic work and Lucy L. Hazard's *The Frontier in American Literature*.

It is perhaps not astonishing that our frontier spawned such a wealth of pamphlets, tracts, maps, and books as Mr. Vail lists. He begins (practically speaking) with Thomas Hariot's *Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* in 1588, and ends with *A guide in the wilderness, or the history of the first settlements in the western counties of New York*, issued by Fenimore Cooper's before-mentioned father in 1810. For this period of two and a quarter centuries he describes 1,300 frontier "voices." Some, to be sure, are echoes, or new editions of older works. Still, there must be about a thousand distinct titles. It is an impressive roster; but then the frontier attracted many types of men—soldiers, explorers, fur-traders, farmers, adventurers, religious enthusiasts, land-speculators, artists, utopians—and many came pen in hand. Here are accounts of the border wars with the "salvages" and the French; here are lurid tales of Indian atrocities; here are books written to further the ends of the land promoters; here are arguments for and against emigration; here are "descriptions" and gazetteers published to serve the emigrants who came with little heed to this debate; here are missionary exhortations; and here are travels modest and boastful, veracious and lying, impressionistic and penetrating. Saints like Daniel Gookin and rascals like Stephen Burroughs alike felt the impulse to write and publish.

For the purposes of his introduction, Mr. Vail divides this huge and varied literature into three parts. He describes in general terms first the pioneers' own stories, then the relations of the Indian captivities, and finally the promotional writings of the land-sellers. Like the rest of us, he finds the greatest historical values in the work of the authentic pioneer; using the term to cover figures so diverse as Samuel Penhallow and George Washington, Conrad Weiser and John Bartram, Crèvecoeur and H. H. Brackenridge. But more thrilling adventure is to be found in the

chronicles of the Indians' captives, a group of books specially beloved of collectors. The stories of Hannah Dustin, of Jonathan Dickenson and his harrowing captivity among Florida Indians, of Mary Jemison, and of Benjamin Gilbert, all much reprinted, have never failed to fascinate. As for the books, maps, and pamphlets issued or inspired by the frontier land agents, if they expose the seamier side of Western development, they also bring us in touch with such extraordinary men of affairs as John Cleves Symmes, William Duer, Oliver Phelps, and Nathaniel Rochester, and with visionary groups like those French aristocrats who, forming the Compagnie de New Yorck, moved in 1794 upon the 600,000-acre tract that they expected to turn into an earthly paradise—and that quickly overthrew them.

Upon every book Mr. Vail supplies full and precise bibliographical information: its complete title, a description of any map or maps, a statement of the editions, and a list of libraries in which copies of early editions are to be found. The items are arranged in chronological order, while an alphabetical index gives a key to authors and titles. But the author does not content himself with this. He supplies, when it is needed, a full discussion of authorship; see, for example, his long note on Elizabeth Hanson's famous "captivity" (1728), which he concludes was worked over by two ghost writers. He calls attention to neglected books. Thus he says of *The life and adventures of Bampfylde-Moore Carew, the noted Devonshire stroller and dog-stealer* (1745) that "This story of the adventures of the 'King of the Gypsies' in America is one of the few eighteenth century American criminal autobiographies, and is a delightful bit of social and criminal history of the times." And he makes us burn with eagerness to get at Matthew Bunn's *Journal* (1796):

"Matthew Bunn was an Ensign with General St. Clair, was captured in the Ohio Country in 1792, escaped and was recaptured by George Girty, gave him the slip and surrendered to the British garrison at Detroit the following year. For damning King George and all the royal family he was thrown into jail and sent to Fort Niagara and, to save his hide, joined the Queen's Rangers, escaped, got caught and was given 500 lashes, escaped again, and after still more adventures along the Niagara Frontier, returned to his native Massachusetts in 1795. A stout fellow!"

Altogether, this is a book which every student of American history and every librarian will cherish; a book which opens a broad highway, carefully paved and lighted, into what has been a trackless and thorny wilderness. It does great credit not only to the learned author, but to the group of Rosenbach Fellows in Bibliography, of whom Mr. Vail is one, and to whose shelf of publications this is a distinguished addition.

Columbia University ALLAN NEVINS

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

BEGINNING in October, the Society will present another series of ten weekly motion picture programs, this one to tell THE STORY OF TEN YEARS: 1939–1949. The series, which will be open free to the public as well as to members and friends, will deal with World War II; its causes, battles, and outcome are presented in films produced during the War by the various agencies in America and abroad set up to disseminate information for civilian and service populations. Several of the outstanding war documentaries have been included. Each program will begin at 3:15 P.M. Saturday and will last about one hour. The schedule follows:

October 7: "Prelude to War"
October 14: "The Nazis Strike"
October 21: "Divide and Conquer"
October 28: "Battle of Britain"
November 4: "War Comes to America"
November 11: "Desert Victory"
November 18: "Battle of San Pietro" and "Memphis Belle"
November 25: "The True Glory"
December 2: "Fury in the Pacific" and "Japan Surrenders"
December 9: "Picture in Your Mind" and "San Francisco, 1945"

The following fall programs for members and friends have been scheduled:

October 25: A lecture on the Erie Canal by Mr. Blake McKelvey and a preview of the special exhibition commemorating the 125th anniversary of the canal's opening.
November 14: A lecture on Australia and New Zealand by Dr. Robert C. Murphy.
December 6: St. Nicholas Day program with a preview of a special exhibition of Early American Toys presented by Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy, an appropriate talk, and a collation.

Miss Barck, as a member of its Council, attended the annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History at Portland, Oregon, August 28–30. She was also at the annual meetings of the New York State Historical Association at Rochester, September 21–23, and the New York Folklore Society also held at Rochester and immediately following the former meeting. Mr. Carlson and Miss Ezequelle were present at a meeting of the Steamship Historical Society held at Salem, Massachusetts, on August 26 and 27. On July 7, Miss Pless appeared on the television program, "Market Melodies," WJZ–TV, demonstrating early American household devices from the Society's collections.

Two exhibitions opened in September. In connection with the meetings of the Association of Bank Women, September 21–24, and the American Bankers Association, September 24–27, a small exhibition, BANKING IN OLD NEW YORK, opened on September 21 to celebrate this Diamond

Anniversary Convention. The exhibit contains pictures of early banking institutions and leading bankers, manuscripts and other material of associated interest. On September 29, the early American portraits, miniatures, and silver, the generous bequest to the Society of Waldron Phoenix Belknap, appeared in an exhibition, the BELKNAP BEQUEST, which will remain on view through November 12. The Recent Accessions exhibition was withdrawn on September 10th, and the exhibition: "In 1850" will continue through December 31st.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

MODEL of bark *America* made by donor, who sailed on original ship to Australia by way of Cape Horn in 1891. *Gift of Mr. Samuel Brydrisick.*

Swinging doll's cradle which belonged to donor's mother. *Gift of Miss Helen Cossitt.*

Thirty-five manuscripts relating to Robert Fulton and steamboating on the Hudson; collection of newspaper clippings relating to Fulton; five maps of properties near Union Square to be sold by James Bleecker, 1835–1839. *Gift of the Estate of Mrs. Edward Charles Crary (Cornelia Livingston Fulton, daughter of Robert Fulton) through her granddaughter, Mrs. Arthur T. Sutcliffe.*

One thousand and sixty-four photographs in 12 albums illustrating the architectural career of Raymond Mathewson Hood (1881–1934), including the Beaux Arts Apartments, McGraw-Hill Building, American Radiator Building, residence of John Green, in New York City, and Tribune Tower and Bethany Union Church, in Chicago. *Gift of Harrison & Abramovitz.*

Financial papers relating to estate of James Scott (1762–1826), of Scotland, New York, and Jamaica, L. I.; business papers and correspondence of Thomas Irvin & Co., of Samuel Irvin & Co., and of Richard Irvin & Co. (1824–1894). *Gift of The Misses Clara and Frances Irvin, great-granddaughters of William Irvin and Janet (Scott) Irvin.*

Watercolor portrait of *Reverend Leonard Cutting* (1724–1794); drawing of Bayard mansion, New York City; collection of family books and photographs. *Gift of Mrs. Bayard James, from the Estate of her mother, Mrs. William Bayard Cutting.*

Thirteen Christmas cards and brochures of the late Gabriel Wells, 1921–1942; two volumes and nine pamphlets by Gabriel Wells and one pamphlet about him. *Gift of Mrs. Louis C. Karpinski.*

Oil portrait of *Daniel Webster* (1782–1852) by J. G. Chandler; oil portrait of *Edwin M. Stanton* (1814–1869) by B. F. Reinhart. *Gift of Mr. William F. Laporte.*

Sixty-one volumes of *The American Architect*, for the period 1884–1914, 1924–1938. *Gift of Mr. Irving Levy.*

Sample book of wallpapers of American Designs by Nancy McClelland, Inc. (third edition). *Gift of Miss Nancy V. McClelland.*

Eight knives and nine forks which were presented to Commodore William Bainbridge (1833) by the Marquis de Lafayette on a visit with Bainbridge in Philadelphia, 1824. Presented to the Naval History Society by donor, great-granddaughter of Commodore Bainbridge. *Gift of Mrs. Shelton E. Martin.*

English printed cotton textile showing the death of Lord Nelson. Presented to the Naval History Society in memory of donor's husband, Spencer Van Bokkelen Nichols. *Gift of Mrs. Spencer Van B. Nichols.*

Six landscapes by Philippe R. D. de Trobriand (1816–1897). *Gift of Mr. Waldron K. Post.*

Silver spoon made by Jesse Kip, 1686 (see article, p. 315 above); small gold fork and spoon made by William G. Forbes, working in New York 1773–1809. *Gift of Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis.*

Sixty-one photographs of actresses and actors of the 1880's. *Gift of Mrs. Arthur Richter.*

Three volumes of letters to the late Major E. Gibert Schermerhorn; two scrapbooks of personal mementoes; eight certificates and diplomas; album of Schermerhorn family photographs; three coats-of-arms of Schermerhorn and Gibert families; notes on Schermerhorn family; letters from George Schermerhorn to his mother, 1874–1875; other family records. *Gift of the Estate of Edward Gibert Schermerhorn, through Mrs. J. Harper Skillin, executrix.*

File of *The Scientific American*, 1867–1877. *Gift of Mr. Morgan H. Seacord.*

Sixteen preliminary sketches for bookplates by Will Simmons; 61 additions to the Sheean Collection of American and European Bookplates. *Gift of Mr. Oliver C. Sheean.*

Landscape by John William Hill (1812–1879), dated 1878; four fans. *Gift of Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr.*

Fourteen letters of the Stevens, Hodgdon, and Schermerhorn families; certificates and papers of Charles A. Schermerhorn; three silhouettes; collection of menus, programs and genealogical pamphlets, principally relating to Schermerhorn family. *Gift of Mrs. J. Harper Skillin.*

Oil portraits of *Henry Ward Beecher* (1813–1887), and of *Ulysses S. Grant* (1822–1885) by Thomas W. Brown, Sr. (1816–1908), grandfather of donor. *Gift of Miss Alice J. Strachan.*

Two 18th-century Dutch plates from the Beekman mansion, 1st Avenue and 51st Street. *Gift of Mrs. Arthur T. Sutcliffe, descendant of Beekman family.*

Papers of E. B. Brown, family letters, diaries and documents, including those of the Bergh and Pollock families; seven photographs of New York City; New York City newspapers of the 1880's; 89 pieces of American fractional paper currency. *Gift of Mrs. Henry C. Taylor.*

McKIM, MEAD & WHITE ARCHIVES

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. Lawrence Grant White, son of the late Stanford White, the firm of McKim, Mead & White, architects, has deposited its archives, dating from the founding of the firm in 1879 down to recent times, in The New-York Historical Society. The records consist of approximately 350 transfer cases and files, 300 bundles of specifications and details, 500 tubes of drawings, and 250 glass negatives. An essay on the firm and its gift will appear in January.

THE CHARLES A. HANNA COLLECTION

IN MEMORY of Charles A. Hanna (1863–1950), a life member of this Society since 1909, all his own historical and genealogical notes and typewritten records, and some books selected from his very large historical library, have been presented to our library by his daughters, Mrs. W. Huntting Howell (Elizabeth Harrison Hanna) and Mrs. Robert Strong Adams (Mary Eleanor Hanna).

Mr. Hanna was a national bank examiner in New York City, 1899–1911, and chief examiner of the New York Clearing House, 1911–1939. His hobbies were history and genealogy, in which fields his knowledge and contributions were not less than in banking. Fifty years ago, he published privately an excellent history of his native county: *Historical Collections of Harrison County in the State of Ohio*, of which the genealogical section was published separately under the title *Ohio Valley Genealogies* (New York: privately printed, 1900). His next contribution was a two-volume study of *The Scotch-Irish; or, The Scot in North Britain, North Ireland, and North America* (New York: 1902), and in 1911 appeared his *The Wilderness Trail; or, The Ventures and Adventures of the Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path*, in two volumes.

The 300 books and pamphlets presented by his daughters relate mainly to Scotland and Ireland, Indians, and local history in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, reflecting his special interests. With them came five volumes of newspaper clippings relating to Cadiz and Harrison County, Ohio; Mr. Hanna's own annotated copy of his *Historical Collections of Harrison County*, with letters and clippings laid in; and the typescript of his *The Wilderness Trail*, with a scrapbook of clipped reviews of it, and photographic negatives he took in Pennsylvania in 1909, to illustrate the work. The collection of Mr. Hanna's notes and manuscripts includes 18 drawers filled with genealogical data on three-by-five cards; 30 volumes of genealogical charts, correspondence, and data of the Hanna, Howell, Adams and other New York, New Jersey, and Ohio families; and 25 volumes of typewritten records relating to Scotch-Irish in the Eastern States, principally in Pennsylvania.

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

Volume XXXIV, January–October 1950

INDEX

Across the Wide Missouri, reviewed, 71–73
Æsculapius Comes to the Colonies, reviewed, 65–66
"American Book Printing in the Mauve Quidecad, 1890–1904," lecture, 248
American Folk Art in Wood, Metal, and Stone, reviewed, 86
"American History in Song," program, 248
Andrew Bradford, Colonial Journalist, reviewed, 330–331
Andrews, Wayne: "Gallatin Revisited, Part One . . . ," 135–139; lecturer, 155; on Voice of America broadcast, 249; reviews by, Kelly's *Early Connecticut Meetinghouses*, 75–76, Miller's *Jonathan Edwards*, 336–337, Starkey's *Devil in Massachusetts*, 336–337
Annals of the New York Stage, Volume XV, reviewed, 68–71
"Architecture of Romantic America," lecture, 155
Army Air Force in World War II, Volume One, reviewed, 85
Art and Life in America, reviewed, 247
Artists in the Life of Charleston, reviewed, 239
Association of Laboratory Assistants of New York City High Schools, meeting of, 88
Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century Origins, reviewed, 246–247

Baer, Carlyle S., lecturer, 88
Baker, Charles E.: reviews by, Kreider's *Beginnings of Lutheranism in New York*, 242, Merritt's *Old Wye Church*, 86–87, Savage's *The Presbyterian Church in New York City*, 153
Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors, reviewed, 240
Banking in Old New York, exhibition, 343–344
Barck, Dorothy C.: attends meetings, 90, 343; speaks to City College classes, 89, to St. John's University class, 155
Becker, E. Marie: reviews by, Hoffman and Levack's *Burke's Politics*, 236–238, Knollenberg's *Franklin Jonathan Williams and William Pitt*, 81–85
Beekman, Fenwick: Gordon's *Æsculapius Comes to the Colonies* reviewed by, 65–66; speaker, 249
Beginnings of Lutheranism in New York, reviewed, 242
Belknap Bequest, exhibition, 344
Belknap, Waldron Phoenix, bequest of, 254–255
Bibliographical Society of America, meeting of, 155
Blanchard, Henry, 248
Bolton, Theodore: reviews by, De Voto's *Across the Wide Missouri*, 71–73, Larkin's *Art and Life in America*, 247
Book Reviews and Notices, 65–87, 149–153, 235–247, 330–340
"Bookplates," lecture, 88

"Bookplates: The Oliver Clement Sheean Collection," by George A. Zabriskie, 59–64
Bronx, The, milestones in, 205–215, 224–226, 231–232
Brooklyn, milestones in, 215–217, 226, 232–234
Burke's Politics, reviewed, 236–238
Bush, Marshall, organ programs, 88

Carlson, Arthur B.: article by, 249; attends meetings, 90, 343; holds offices in Special Libraries Association, 90, 249; gives talk, 249
"Carriage Gallery at The New-York Historical Society," by Lt. Col. Paul H. Downing, 269–300
Cate, James Lea, ed., *Army Air Force in World War II*, reviewed, 85
Caughey, John Walton, *Gold Is the Cornerstone*, reviewed, 338–339
"Charles A. Hanna Collection," 346
Circleville, N.Y. Mothers' Club, 248
Coddington, Andrew, joins staff, 249
College of the City of New York, reviewed, 331–332
"Cornelia Duyckinck's Birthday Spoon Inscribed and Dated: August 25, 1686 Made by Jesse Kip," by Carolyn Scoon, 315–317
Cowdrey, Mary Bartlett, Rutledge's *Artists in the Life of Charleston* reviewed by, 239
Craven, Wesley Frank, ed., *Army Air Force in World War II*, reviewed, 85

De Armond, Anna Janney, *Andrew Bradford*, reviewed, 330–331
Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Inquiry into the Salem Witch Trials, reviewed, 336–337
De Voto, Bernard, *Across the Wide Missouri*, reviewed, 71–73
Dickson, Harold E.: "Jarvis Portrait of Thomas Paine," 5–11; publication of *John Wesley Jarvis* by, 90
Dilliston, William H., *Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors*, reviewed, 240
Donors (listed alphabetically with their gifts), 91–94, 158–160, 250–255, 344–346
Dowling, Hon. Robert W., speaker, 88
Downing, Lt. Col. Paul H., "The Carriage Gallery at The New-York Historical Society," 269–300

Early Connecticut Meetinghouses, reviewed, 75–76
"East and West Have Met," lecture, 156
Edmonds, Walter D., O'Donnell's *Snubbing Posts* reviewed by, 241
Ernst, Robert: *Immigrant Life in New York City*, reviewed, 149–151; Wittke's *The Utopian Communist* reviewed by, 333–334
European and American Bookplates, exhibition, 88
Ezequelle, Betty: attends meeting, 343; lecturer, 156

"First Artist of the Overland Trail," by R. W. G. Vail, 25–30
Folklore and Firesides in Pomfret, Hampton and Vicinity, reviewed, 340
Franklin Jonathan Williams and William Pitt: A Letter of January 21, 1775, reviewed, 81–85
Frederick Catherwood Arch't., reviewed, 151–153
Freedley, George, Odell's *Annals of the New York Stage* reviewed by, 68–71
French Folklore Society, 248

"Gallatin Revisited, Part One, Thunder on the Left: J. B. C. Lucas," by Wayne Andrews, 135–139
Garreau, Roger, 249
"Garson Collection of Historical Menus," lecture, 88
Garson, O. Andreas: collection of, 88; lecturer, 88
Goiran, Henri, speaker, 249
Gold Is the Cornerstone, reviewed, 338–339

Gold Rush Album, reviewed, 338
Gordon, Maurice Bear, *Æsculapius Comes to the Colonies*, reviewed, 65–66
Graham, Lloyd, *Niagara Country*, reviewed, 335–336
Gramercy Park, display on, 89
Grancsay, Stephen V., lecturer, 155
Greenberg, Dr. Jacob, speaker, 249
Griggs, Susan J., *Folklore and Firesides*, reviewed, 340
Groce, George C.: "John Wollaston's Portrait of Thomas Appleford, Dated 1746," 261–268; Richardson's *Washington Allston* reviewed by, 334

Habert, Jacques, *When New York Was Called Angoulême*, reviewed, 235–236
Hamlin, Talbot, von Hagen's *Frederick Catherwood Arch*t. reviewed by, 151–153
Harlow, Alvin F., Hill's *The Winooski* reviewed by, 73–75
Hill, Ralph Nading, *The Winooski*, reviewed, 73–75
High School History Program lectures, 88, 89, 156
High School Loan Exhibitions, 248
"Historical American Powder Horns," lecture, 155
Historical Society of Middletown and Wallkill Precinct, meeting of, 89
"History Written With Pick and Shovel," by Richard J. Koke, 140–148
Hoffman, J. S., *Burke's Politics*, reviewed, 236–238

Illustrations: Belt-Plate, 148; Bill, Thirty Dollar Continental, 32, reverse of, 33; Bookplates, 58–64; Buffalo Surround in the Pawnee Country, by Alfred Jacob Miller, 24; Carriages, 274–299; Churches pictured on china, 18–22; Jenny Lind: first page of first program, 318, daguerreotype of, 319, first appearance at Castle Garden, 322, interior of Tripler Hall, 325, bust of by S. Joseph, 329; Manuscripts: certificate of authorship of Paine portrait, 8, Governor Ingoldesby's Call for Volunteers, 112, Nicholas Roosevelt Receipt for Motto Rings, 314, Nicholson-Vetch Proclamation Regarding Fire-Arms, 112; New York: Burgis View of Fort George, 12, copperplate reëngraving of Carwitham view of Fort George, 16, milestones in New York City, 164–228 *passim;* maps of milestones, 172, 183, 204, 214, 218; unknown views of old New York by Joel H. Barlow, 124, 126, 128–133; original "Tally-Ho," 270; Paine, Thomas, bust of, 7; Portraits: Thomas Appleford by John Wollaston, 260, Mr. and Mrs. Gerret Duyckinck, 317, Albert Gallatin by John Wesley Jarvis, 134, John B. C. Lucas, engraving by H. B. Hall & Sons, 134, Thomas Paine by John Wesley Jarvis, 4, engraving of, 10, William Smith, Jr. by John Wollaston, 260, Samuel Vetch, by Unidentified Artist, 100, Capt. and Mrs. John Waddell by John Wollaston, 267, Mr. and Mrs. William Walton by John Wollaston, 264; potter's mark of J. Twigg, 23; Silver and gold, 304–315
Immigrant Life in New York City, reviewed, 149–151

Jackson, Joseph Henry, ed., *Gold Rush Album*, reviewed, 338
Jarvis, John Wesley, bust of Paine by, illus., 7; portrait of Paine by, 5–11; illus., 4; engraving of, illus., 10
"Jarvis Portrait of Thomas Paine," by Harold E. Dickson, 5–11
"John Wollaston's Portrait of Thomas Appleford, Dated 1746," by George C. Groce, 261–268
Jonathan Edwards, reviewed, 336–337

Kelly, J. Frederick, *Early Connecticut Meetinghouses,* reviewed, 75–76
Kelly, James, speaker, 249
Kimball, Dr. LeRoy, speaker, 88
Knollenberg, Bernhard, *Franklin Jonathan Williams and William Pitt,* reviewed, 81–85
Koke, Richard J.: "History Written with Pick and Shovel," 140–148; "Milestones along the Old Highways of New York City," 165–234; Moore's *Life of General John Stark* reviewed by, 76–78; "The Waldron Phoenix Belknap Bequest," 254–255
Kraus, Michael, *The Atlantic Civilization,* reviewed, 246–247
Kreider, Harry J., *The Beginnings of Lutheranism in New York,* reviewed, 242

Land in California, reviewed, 338–339
Larkin, Oliver W., *Art and Life in America,* reviewed, 247
Larremore, Thomas A., lecturer, 248
Le Duc, Thomas, Rudy's *College of the City of New York* reviewed by, 331–332
Leech, Wilmer R.: attends meeting, 90; honored by staff, 249
Leighton, Roberta: *Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, Prints and Postcards . . .* compiled by, 90; reviews by, *Army Air Force in World War II,* 85, *Gold Rush Album,* 338, Griggs's *Folklore and Firesides,* 340
Levack, Paul, *Burke's Politics,* reviewed, 236–238
Lieberman, Dr. Elias, speaker, 88
Life of General John Stark of New Hampshire, reviewed, 76–78
Lipman, Jean, *American Folk Art,* reviewed, 86

McCracken, Harold, lecturer, 89
McDaniel, W. B., II, Van Ingen's *The New York Academy of Medicine* reviewed by, 66–67
"McKim, Mead & White Archives," 346
Magazines in the United States, reviewed, 242–245
Manhattan, milestones in, 171–205, 222–224, 227–231
Merritt, Arthur H., "A Postscript to American Churches Pictured on Old Blue China," 19–23
Merritt, Elizabeth, *Old Wye Church,* reviewed, 86–87
"Milestones along the Old Highways of New York City," by Richard J. Koke, 165–234
Miller, Alfred Jacob, "A Buffalo Surround in the Pawnee Country," by, illus., 24
Miller, Perry, *Jonathan Edwards,* reviewed, 336–337
Minick, A. Rachel, joins staff, 249
Mitchell, Basil, Wood's *Magazines in the United States* reviewed by, 242
Moore, Howard Parker, *A Life of General John Stark,* reviewed, 76–78
Moses, Percival R., speaker, 88

National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of New York, meeting of, 156
Nevins, Allan, Vail's *Voice of the Old Frontier* reviewed by, 340–342
"New Hampshire Tory Counterfeiters Operating From New York City," by Kenneth Scott, 31–57
New York Academy of Medicine, reviewed, 66–67
New York Bay Discovery Contest, 248
"New York Before Man Came," lecture, 248
New York City: milestones in, 165–234; unknown views of, 13–17, 125–133
New York Folklore Society, meeting of, 155
New-York Historical Society: accessions, 59, 91–94, 158–160, 250–255, 315–317, 340, 344–345; activities,

88–90, 155–157, 248–249, 344; classes at, 89, 155, 156; co-sponsors New York Bay Discovery Contest, 248; exhibitions, 88–89, 155, 248, 343–344; high school loan exhibitions installed by, 155, 248; high-school students, programs for, 88–89, 156; lectures, 88, 155–156, 248; motion pictures at, 88–89, 155–156, 248, 343; organ programs at, 88; publications of, 90; St. Nicholas Day Program, 89; School Art League, programs for, 88, 156, 248–249; Strawberry Festival, 248; visiting organizations at, 88–89, 155–156, 248
New York League of Women Voters, meetings of, 155, 248
New York Library Club, meetings of, 89, 156
New York Society for General Semantics, meetings of, 156
New York State Button Society, meeting of, 155
Niagara Country, reviewed, 336
"Nicholas Roosevelt — Goldsmith (1715–1769)," by Helen Burr Smith, 301–314

Oberlin Women's Club, meeting of, 248
Odell, George C. D., *Annals of the New York Stage*, reviewed, 68–71
O'Donnell, Thomas C., *Snubbing Posts*, reviewed, 241–242
O'Dwyer, Hon. William, speaker, 88
Old Wye Church, reviewed, 86–87
Our City Hall in History, exhibition, 88

Paine, Roberta M., Lipman's *American Folk Art* reviewed by, 86
Paine, Thomas: bust of illus., 7; engraving of illus., 10; portrait of illus., 4
Park, Julian, Graham's *Niagara Country* reviewed by, 335–336
Pless, Judith: appears on television program, 343; lecturer, 88, 89, 156; reviews by, Caughey's *Gold Is the Cornerstone*, 338–339, Robinson's *Land in California*, 338–339
Pomerantz, Dr. Sidney I.: brings history classes to Society, 89; Ernst's *Immigrant Life in New York City* reviewed by, 149–151
"Postcript to American Churches Pictured on Old Blue China," by Arthur H. Merritt, 19–23
Presbyterian Church in New York City, reviewed, 153
Puaux, Francis, speaker, 249

Queens, milestones in, 219–221, 226–227, 234

Recent Accessions exhibition, 248
Reed, H. Clay, Dillistin's *Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors* reviewed by, 240
Richardson, Edgar Preston, *Washington Allston*, reviewed, 334
Richmond, milestones in, 221, 234
Robinson, W. W., *Land in California*, reviewed, 338–339
Rudy, S. Willis, *The College of the City of New York*, reviewed, 331–332
Rutledge, Anna Wells, *Artists in the Life of Charleston*, reviewed, 239

"Samuel Vetch and the Glorious Enterprise," by G. M. Waller, 101–123
Sasseen, Patricia, 249
Savage, Theodore Fiske, *The Presbyterian Church in New York City*, reviewed, 153
Savelle, Max, *Seeds of Liberty*, reviewed, 78–80
School Art League Awards, 249
School Art League Programs, 88, 156, 248–249
Scoon, Carolyn, "Cornelia Duyckinck's Birthday Spoon . . . ," 315–317
Scott, Kenneth, "New Hampshire Tory Counterfeiters . . . ," 31–57

Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind, reviewed, 78–80
Sheean, Oliver C., collection of, 88
Sheehan, Donald, Savelle's *Seeds of Liberty* reviewed by, 78–80
Smith, Helen Burr, "Nicholas Roosevelt—Goldsmith (1715–1769)," 301–314
Smith, Mary Foley, lecturer, 156
Snubbing Posts, reviewed, 241–242
Society of American Historians, meeting of, 155
Special Libraries Association, meeting of, 248
Starkey, Marian L., *The Devil in Massachusetts*, reviewed, 336–337
Stow, Charles Messer, 155

Taylor, Dr. Hall, lecturer, 248
"'There Was a Magic In Her Voice,' When Jenny Lind Was Here A Hundred Years Ago," by Leonidas Westervelt, 319–329
20th Century New York: Pen and Ink Sketches, exhibition, 155

Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, meeting of, 248
United Amateur Press Association, visit of, 88
United Daughters of the Confederacy, meeting of, 155
"Unknown Views of Old New York," by R. W. G. Vail, 13–17, 125–133
Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling, reviewed, 333–334

Vail, R. W. G.: address by, 249; Columbia University graduate course given by, 89; "First Artist of the Oregon Trail," 25–30; *Gold Fever: A Catalogue of the California Gold Rush Centennial Exhibition* by, 90; Rosenbach Fellowship lectures given by, 89; tour conducted by, 89; "Unknown Views of Old New York," 13–17, 125–133; *Voice of the Old Frontier* by, 89, reviewed, 340–342
Van Ingen, Philip, *The New York Academy of Medicine*, reviewed, 66–67
Voice of the Old Frontier, reviewed, 340–342
Von Hagen, Victor W., *Frederick Catherwood Arch*t., reviewed, 151–153

Wall, Alexander J., Jr.: De Armond's *Andrew Bradford* reviewed by, 330–331; interviewed on radio, 249; speaker, 249; tour conducted by, 89
Wall, Lillian B., *Entre Nous: An Intimate Portrait of Alexander J. Wall* by, 90
Waller, G. M., "Samuel Vetch and the Glorious Enterprise," 101–123
"Wandering Around South America," lecture, 89
Washington Allston: A Study of the Romantic Artist in America, reviewed, 334
Watkins, Edna W.: obituary of, 154; secretary for Museum Group, 90
Weinbaum, Martin A., Kraus's *Atlantic Civilization* reviewed by, 246
Westervelt, Leonidas, "'There Was A Magic In Her Voice,' . . .," 319–329
When New York Was Called Angoulême, reviewed, 235–236
Winooski, Heartway of Vermont, The, reviewed, 73–75
Wittke, Carl, *The Utopian Communist*, reviewed, 333–334
Wollaston, John: article on, 261–268; portraits by, 260, 264, 267
Wood, James P., *Magazines in the United States*, reviewed, 242–245

Zabriskie, George A.: "Bookplates: The Oliver Clement Sheean Collection," 59–64; Habert's *When New York Was Called Angoulême* reviewed by, 235–236